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William H. Welch

LEADERSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

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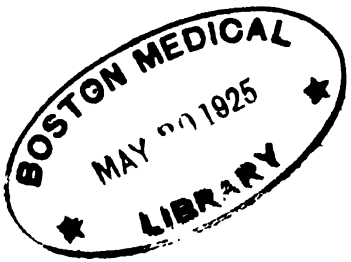

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LEADERSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY*

By Honorable James M. Beck

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Institute:

While I did not accept in haste the invitation of the Institute, with which you have honored me, yet I have repented at leisure. While I fully appreciate the compliment of the invitation, yet owing to a combination of circumstances, I have found it impossible to give to the subject the time and attention which the dignity of the audience, as well as the interesting character of the subject, alike require.

I hope you will therefore indulge me to-night if I do little more than think aloud. Those who have followed any of my public addresses know that I am usually not lacking in emphasis nor in definite convictions. To-night, however, I shall speak with some uncertainty, not only in my premises, but also my conclusions, and anything that I say is therefore said as Mr. Guffey made his famous declaration of marriage, "without prejudice." When the stenotypist finishes the transcript of my address I doubtless will find some suggestions that on further reflection I would either modify or possibly reject altogether.

When I selected my subject my mind had been turning upon what was to me a very interesting and portentous phenomenon in the life of our nation.

We are on the eve of probably the most important presidential election since 1860. Indeed I am not sure in the perspective of history, as men will look back two or three centuries hence, that the coming presidential election may not dwarf in importance that of 1860. It may not be too much to say that the next president of the United States can be, if he will, the most potential statesman of the world. This not merely arises from the enormous power that the presidential office has, wielding as a thunderbolt the potency of a hundred millions of people, but it is due to the fact that the World War was the culminating stage of a prodigious transfer of the

* Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the National Institute of Social Sciences, January 22, 1920.

world's political center of gravity. In other words, time has verified that which Green, the English historian, predicted some thirty or forty years ago, that the destinies of the world are in the future to be controlled, not only from the Tiber, the Thames, the Seine and the Danube, but also from the Hudson and the Mississippi. A man certainly is blind who cannot see in the developments of the last twelve months a prodigious —and that which I think Earl Rosebery called in an address during the war—a "sublime transference of the center of political influence from the old world to the new." I quote from memory.

For this reason, among many others, the wise selection of the next President of the United States is one of the most important decisions that ever devolved upon the American people. I have restricted my emphasis of that point solely to the colossal world problems that the new President must face, but when I add to that, which is obvious to every thinking man, that the very foundations of our Constitutional system are crumbling, that great fissures are already to be seen in its walls; that it is by no means sure that our Constitutional form of government is not in a stage of disintegration, when we see the waves of class passion rising to submerge the edifice that the fathers built for us—then we can see that if there were no foreign problems or questions of world politics to perplex the next President of the United States, the domestic problems would alone be the gravest since Abraham Lincoln took the high oath of office in 1861.

That being so, it struck me as amazing that never before in the history of our nation has there seemingly been such a poverty of material for the presidential office. It is to that phenomenon that I want to address your attention. Fewer men are actually mentioned in connection with the office than on any previous occasion that I can recall, and while two of them are men who justly appeal to the imagination of a great people and are of a nation-wide influence, yet I do not think it too much to say that if we eliminate the President on the ground of his lamentable physical disability from the possibility of succession, few have yet been named of the same high rank as was given in the providence of God to America in other grave crises of its history.

That suggests the further thought that it is not merely the poverty of material for the presidential office that confronts us on the eve of the conventions, but the same poverty is to be found in all the branches of government, both state and federal. Will anyone contend that the Senate of the United States or the House of Representatives is as able a body as in previous years? Certainly our state governments are less in efficiency and have a less representative gathering of men than they had in earlier periods of the Republic's history.

Therefore the question, to which I want to invite your attention and about which, as I say I shall "without prejudice," offer some rambling thoughts, is, what is the significance of this phenomenon? What are its causes? And, if I get so far, what may be its possible cure?

On the threshold of the subject I may be met by two objections to my premises. One may be that we live too near to the men of our own time to appreciate their true value; that in the perspective of history they will seem to be much greater than they are to the present generation. I do not doubt that is true of a few of our public men. Mr. Hoover's work and that of our gracious host, Mr. Henry P. Davison, in developing the beneficent work of the Red Cross, will loom larger and larger as the years go by.

But one swallow does not make a summer and we must beware of too hasty generalizations. Certainly the great mass of public men to-day are not men who will grow greater as the years go by and to whom the immortal epigram of Speaker Reed can be applied—that a "statesman is only a dead politician."

The second objection that may be made to my premise is that the absence of supremely great men in this most critical period of our country's history may be due to the fact that there are not so many dominating mountain peaks because the valleys of average humanity have been filled up. In other words, the whole level of intelligence has been so raised that it is no longer possible for a few men to enjoy the position of intellectual predominance that in an age of greater illiteracy was possible. I do not think that explains it because, while it is probably true that the average of education in this country is

greater than it was before, yet the greatness of great men must be measured not by the mere question of average literacy or illiteracy, but rather by the standards and durable achievements of public service. Thus judged by the "arduous greatness of things done" I doubt very much whether the valleys have been filled up and whether the peaks are only less to our contemplation because they no longer rise from a lower tableland. Whether you accept or reject my premise, I shall assume that it is well-founded and that a lack of adequate material for leadership does exist in one of the gravest crises in our country's history. Therefore let me next discuss very inadequately its causes.

Whenever I am interested in any feature of American institutions, I turn, as we all do, to the most acute, careful and dispassionate commentary upon our government, that of Lord Bryce. His work is a monument to his genius and as a classic will surely live. No one can read the *American Commonwealth* and not be amazed at the fact that a man of another race and nationality could, with such clear analysis and with so few errors, have grasped the essential nature of our institutions.

Lord Bryce, writing his book twenty-five years ago and revising it in more recent years, recognized the premise to which I have referred. He says:

> "The proportion of men of intellectual and social eminence who enter public life is much smaller in America than in each of the free countries of Europe."

He thereupon proceeds to give reasons and I will briefly refer to them with some comments and then add a few suggestions of my own.

The first of his reasons is that there is in this country the want of a social and commercial capital.

At the beginning of the Republic there was a truly puerile fear that the liberties of the people would be destroyed if the nation's capital were placed in the commercial metropolis of the land. Not merely in the federal government but in most of our state governments the capital was put in some smaller and remote place beyond the reach of the metropolis. In the case of our national capital, as you know, by reason of an un-

fortunate and somewhat sordid deal between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, the capital of the country was located in undrained marshes on the Potomac, and it is probably true, as Lord Bryce intimates, that much available leadership is lost to the nation by the natural indisposition of men to leave virile and vigorous cities, in which they were born and of whose civic life they are a part, to go to that which is still in some respects an overgrown village, beautiful as the art of man has made parts of it.

Moreover, another consideration makes Washington an unfortunate selection and has had its effect (although in my judgment it is only a minor cause) upon the character of our leadership, and that is the climate of Washington. It is an unfortunate climate. No one who has ever gone to Washington, unless he be a human dynamo,—again like our generous host this evening,—but feels the inevitable relaxation of an enervating air. The spirit of *Mañana* breathes over Washington. There is always a desire to do something to-morrow. The most vigorous and active men will leave their cities like New York and Chicago, and when they reach Washington find themselves dallying at Capua, and like Hannibal suffering accordingly. I think a great deal of the regrettable delays, both in preparing our country to go into the war—when it ought to have been apparent to men of vision that a war was coming—as well as the year's delay after we formally entered the war, was in part due to that relaxing spirit of a capital that has not in its air the electrical qualities that so exceptionally distinguished New York. Even the earthquake of the World War could not suffice to wake somnolent Washington from its somnambulistic peregrinations. I believe it to be true that if the capital of this country had been New York, and if the senators and representatives had shared the throbbing life of this most dynamic of all cities of the world, that in 1914 a thrill would have gone along the keel of the ship of state that would have launched us more promptly into the World War, instead of floating along for over three years on lazy summer seas, almost as placidly as "a painted ship upon a painted ocean."

The second reason that Mr. Bryce gives is that there is no recognized social class of statesman. He says "hereditary,"

but I think he does not mean hereditary in the sense of the hereditary tenure of the House of Lords, so much as that class, where a man by reason of the influence of family tradition goes into public life. I believe that to be true also, although that is merely a symptom, not a cause. In England there are families that for many generations have recognized as their primary and hereditary duty in life to enter public life, while in this country there is not yet developed that class of men who, by family ties, are consecrated from youth to the public service. The family of the Adamses, of course, is a notable exception. There are some others. We rejoice in the young gentleman who now bears the honored name of Theodore Roosevelt, who is following in his father's footsteps in the Assembly of New York State, but there again it is the exception and not the rule, because the son of an American statesman rarely feels a hereditary impulse to take up his father's work after the latter has joined the silent majority.

The third reason that Lord Bryce gives is the greater choice of opportunity both in England and France, by which he means the greater elasticity of their system. With us the spirit of localization exists under our form of government, so that while a member of Congress can run in any district of his state he cannot run in any other district, and while he has the choice of all the districts in his state by the theory of law, in actual practice—because the habits of a people are almost as much a part of its Constitution as the written law—a man must live in his district in order to qualify for a seat in the House of Representatives.

The short and uncertain tenure of office also is a deterrent to a public career in America. For example, many naturally shrink from appealing every second year for a reëlection to the House of Representatives.

In England a man can sit for any one of five hundred seats in the House of Commons. If he is defeated in one seat, there is no humiliation in his standing for another and in that way a political career is not so precarious as it is in this country. What possible temptation is there for an American, outside of patriotism, to drop all his private affairs to take a seat in the House of Representatives, when two years later his appeal to his electorate may result in his rejection?

Then he finds himself without either a public career or even the business career which he had left in order to render a public service.

The fourth reason that Mr. Bryce gives is that politics is less interesting in America than England—but this is true only as of the time when the *American Commonwealth* was written, for in 1894, when it first appeared, American politics was deadly dull as compared with English politics, for the reason that in England elections for Parliament were concerned with the affairs of a world-wide empire, whereas with the exception of the questions of reconstruction which arose out of the Civil War, the most interesting problem that America could discuss in 1894 was whether the average ad valorem tariff duty should be sixty per cent. or forty-seven per cent. It is amazing into what a frenzy of enthusiasm our people could throw themselves on the question of the exact rate of an ad valorem duty. I may say in this connection, as another symptom of this lack of material, to which I refer, that an extraordinary change in the habits of our people has taken place with respect to interest in politics. Thirty or forty years ago when the only issues were, as I have said, either the questions of honest government or the questions of a high or a low tariff, the whole country was thrilled a year before the nominating conventions met, with keen interest as to who should be the respective candidates of a party, and when the party named its candidate in June, the roar of cannon was heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific and at once clubs were organized, not merely in every state and city and county, but in every precinct. Every week, and sometimes twice a week, in every precinct, from June until the last Saturday before the election, thousands and tens of thousands of earnest Americans were discussing with feverish enthusiasm economic questions such as the free or dutiable importations of wool.

We can recall how thousands of men twice a week would lay aside their work and put on an oilskin cape and with a torchlight march from place to place in defense of the principles of the party to which they belonged. All that militant activity seems to have vanished from our political life. Today you could number on the fingers of your two hands the men who could fill, by the magic of their name, Carnegie Hall,

In a nation of one hundred million people, I venture the assertion that there are not ten men in political life who can fill Carnegie Hall by the mere mention of their name. Thirty years ago there were thousands of public speakers whom the people thronged to hear.

So that the disappearance of available material for Congress and the presidency is only concomitant with an extraordinarily lessened interest of the average citizen in the affairs of the government, or else he manifests his interest in a less demonstrative way. Twenty-five years ago there was the excuse, to which Lord Bryce refers, that while in England the affairs of a great empire were the stake of the election, the issues in America were domestic and somewhat provincial.

But to-day, and for the last five years, when have there been questions of such surpassing importance, of such thrilling interest as the questions that have confronted the American people? Take the issue of the last presidential election. Were we rightly or wrongly kept out of war? It sounded the very height of ethics; it involved the profoundest considerations of political philosophy; it defined our relations to all the rest of the world. There never was an issue that had so much appeal, both to the morality and the intelligence of the American people, as that which was involved in the last presidential election. And yet the public interest, if it can be measured by political activity, was small in 1916 as compared with presidential campaigns a quarter of a century ago, when the issues were largely parochial. In that critical election you could number on the fingers of your two hands the real leaders of public opinion. The people thronged to hear Wilson, Roosevelt and Hughes, but even they at times found the public ear somewhat languid.

Lord Bryce's next suggestion was this:

In Europe on account of the steady rise of the working classes, there has been a vital necessity for the property classes to keep a strong hold on the helm lest the ship should go down into a maelstrom of anarchy. European nations lacked the constitutional limitations upon political power which we enjoy. I have often wondered, as a student of Constitutional Law, whether constitutional limitations in this country were as valuable as we think. Undoubtedly these limitations, which draw

a line beyond which the Legislature cannot go, encourages the Legislature to pass all kinds of confiscatory legislation and then leave to the Supreme Court the question of their validity. Thus reckless legislation is encouraged.

I recently argued a case before the Railway Committee of the Canadian Parliament, where a franchise was sought to be invalidated, and I was struck by the fact that the absence of any constitutional limitation, either in Canada or England, forbidding the confiscation of property, made the Parliaments of those two countries very careful not to confiscate property, not because such laws violated any written limitation—because there was none—but because they violated the higher law, the conscience of mankind and that the credit of the country would suffer by any such violation of the common proprieties of government.

I think it is true that the very fact that we have constitutional limitations in this country, which are supposed to safeguard property rights, impairs that keen incentive, that exists in European nations and to which Lord Bryce refers, which impels the best men to go into politics in order to safeguard property rights, not in any selfish or indefensible way, but because property rights are only one phase of human rights and without them no government would be of much value.

It might be better if we did not in this country rely so much upon the limited power of the judiciary to prevent confiscatory legislation, but a little more upon the right of men, rich or poor, the manual toiler or the larger capitalist, to defend that which they have won with the sweat of brain or muscle by the ballot box and not merely by recourse to the judiciary.

The sixth reason that Mr. Bryce gives is our dual form of government.

Undoubtedly while it was necessary for the framers of the Constitution, in a country as widely scattered as ours was at the foundation of the government, to create a dual system, whereby only certain powers were given to the federal government and all the rest of the powers were reserved to the sovereign states, yet that dual system of government has led to this result: that thousands of men disdain to take any active part in the politics of their state, or city—which after all must be the primary school of national political life—and feeling

themselves too big for the locality, or feeling that the politics of the locality within its circumscribed sphere has no appeal to them and being unable to get, for many reasons, into the service of the federal government, they simply disdain to take part in either.

There are also many men who do not care to go to Washington to work, because the province of the federal government does not concern those things which particularly interest them, and there are many others who would not go into the political life of their city or state because their only interests are in the higher sphere of political power, that of the federal government.

The seventh reason that Mr. Bryce gives is one that is so obvious that it hardly requires any comment, and that is that other occupations have greater material incentives than politics to the average American and are far more lucrative. We live in a country of vast undeveloped resources and it is not unnatural that in its progressive development thousands have satisfied their aspirations and ambitions in some special line of work in the development of our great industries. A man like Mr. James J. Hill or Edward H. Harriman or Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan can thus satisfy his ambition for constructive achievement and find full satisfaction in the enormous power that he can wield in a lesser sphere and in the great good that he can do in that sphere.

Far more than any other country, this consideration has withdrawn from our public life thousands of capable men who would have been immensely valuable in political life. I do not believe that we have less material out of which the highest statesmanship can be fashioned than any other country. We are too virile as a people. If we could get the men of the type that I have mentioned—true master builders—to take an active part in political life, unquestionably they would show themselves capable of the very highest kind of statesmanship, but their energies are preoccupied in that which is important but nevertheless lesser than the supreme interests of the state.

The eighth reason that Lord Bryce gives is a curious one and would possibly justify a longer comment than I shall make. That is the superior social prestige of a political ca-

reer in any European country. This must be attributed to a habit of mind and also to a deplorable retrogression in our nation from the high ideals upon which it was founded. It is undoubtedly true that in America, it generally does not add to one's social status nor to reputation to take part in the public life of the country except in a few conspicuous offices. It is a shame it is so, but we have to recognize the fact. No man who is a member of the legislature *ipso facto* stands any higher in society. In England a Justice of the Peace, which to us is a term almost of contempt, who administers justice in a provincial court, is a man of real social standing in his community. To receive any political distinction from the government carries with it social prestige, whereas with us, while it is undoubtedly an honor to be a senator, or a member of the House of Representatives, yet social prestige is generally gained by other causes. It ought not to be.

I can remember a time in my native city of Philadelphia when its legislative body, the Council, was filled with the most illustrious names of the city, men like Horace Binney, a great lawyer of Philadelphia. To be Mayor of Philadelphia was regarded as the very greatest honor of any that that city could bestow. Tempora mutantur and in New York to be Mayor does not now add to one's social stature.

There is undoubtedly much value in social prestige—and I am not using social prestige in a narrow and contemptible sense of the word, but in its largest sense—being an incentive and a reward to political effort. Titles in this country are unadapted to the genius of our government, although I have never known a Senator not to rejoice in being called a Senator, or a Judge, a Judge.

Excepting a few titles of especial distinction Americans generally care little for such additions to their names. Most of us are rather annoyed in being called "Honorable" but I suppose it is true that in England and in Canada there has been an enormous stimulation of public activity and public service by the titles that are given. While I am not intimating that we should confer titles in this country (because the Constitution and our democratic spirit alike forbid it) yet Lord Bryce's comment may be justified that the comparative

lack of social prestige in public office in this country as compared with England does explain to some extent the lessened political activity of some of our citizens. Let us respect our public servants more. Public office should be not only a public trust but a social honor.

The last reason that Mr. Bryce gives is this:

The abuse and misinterpretation which accompany any man who goes into politics is one of the great causes of the lack of political leadership. Strangely enough, Lord Bryce treats this as a minor cause, stating that in every country a man who goes into politics is subject to attack. In another paragraph Lord Bryce does say that if the paths to Congress were cleaned of "stumbling blocks and dirt heaps," a change would come to pass in the character of the personnel of the public service in America. There are thousands of very capable men who would go into public life but cannot bring their minds to the venomous abuse and at times consequent compromise of their self-respect which success in politics too often involves.

By compromise of self-respect I do not mean merely the corrupt methods of our political life, without which success is too often impossible, but something graver, and that is the compromise of one's conviction that seems necessary in order to keep a man's party loyalty. With the increasing complexity of our life few men can readily accept all that his political party advocates. If he seeks to become its candidate he is almost inevitably confronted with the necessity of actively or tacitly accepting some principle, at which both his mind and his conscience revolt. If he will not, he is not available. If he does, he does so at a compromise of his self-respect.

I can give you a striking illustration. Not many weeks ago the Senate of the United States, with only one dissenting voice, deliberately affronted a great and friendly power, by whose side we were fighting only twelve months ago, by interfering in its internal affairs. It was amazing to many of us that men for whom we have the greatest respect,—scholars, statesmen, high-minded patriots,—voted for a proposition, with which we all knew they could not sympathize. Undoubtedly a statesman is often confronted with the fact that if he desires to be of continuing use to his country in the office, for

which he has given his life and for which he has made very great sacrifices, he must at times surrender some of his sacred convictions. I suppose there are few men that have arisen high in the public life of our country that have not at some time been compelled thus to compromise their self-respect by tacitly acquiescing in something which they believed to be intellectually false or morally wrong.

That being so, a man who has natural refinement of mind and manner and who is under no compulsion to go into politics as a business or an occupation, and who wants to serve his country but who feels that to serve it means the compromising of his intellectual integrity, is driven away. While that is undoubtedly true of all representative governments, of all democracies—nay, more, it is not merely true of democracies, it is true of any government that the men who are not in power to impose their will, but who desire to be useful, must make concessions to hold their place,—yet in this country the evil is undoubtedly aggravated by the fact that with the complexity of issues, and the breath of popular opinion creating a man one day and destroying him the next, that his political life and death depends too much on pleasing the supposed whims of alleged majorities. When I read *Coriolanus,* one of Shakespeare's great plays, and a masterly study in democracy, I have always had a certain sympathy with Coriolanus when he refused to compromise his self-respect by showing his wounds in the market place, as it was beneath his dignity as a man, even though the laws of Rome required the candidate for the consulship to show his wounds to the gaping crowd.

I have thus summarized Mr. Bryce's nine reasons with my own generally concurring comments.

I hope you will now indulge me, if I briefly and inadequately add a few suggestions of my own. They are only to be regarded as supplementing that which Mr. Bryce has so well said.

The first reason that I see is the complexity of modern life. Great leaders are generally the result of simple ideas.

Go back to the time of the first Continental Congress—and you will remember that the elder Pitt said of it, that he had read and studied the master states of the world but that

for force of reason and sagacity of conclusion no body of men in all history surpassed the First Continental Congress that met in Philadelphia. Recall also the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which fashioned an instrument which remains to-day the oldest written form of government in the world. It is the only one that has for one hundred and forty years maintained itself in substantial integrity. I would not be so trite as to quote Gladstone's immortal estimate, but would rather quote another Prime Minister, the younger Pitt, who, when he read the first draft of the Constitution of the United States, said:

"It will be the admiration of all the future ages and the model for all future governments."

What extraordinary men its framers were and how little men of to-day can really rank with them! Washington, Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, James Madison, the Pinckneys, Randolph and others. Out of fifty-five men there were at least ten who could write their title clear to immortality and they have grown greater and greater as the ages go by, because the time will never come that the world will not increasingly appreciate the surpassing genius of a Franklin or the perfect, well-poised statecraft of a George Washington, or the constructive genius of a Hamilton.

They were men of a simple age, before machinery had in some respects cursed mankind, as I verily believe it has. Their fathers plowed the fields as their ancestors had done for centuries before them. It was before the age of the railroad, the steamship and the telegraph. They had few ideas but because they were few they knew what they knew well and they saw clearly. They did not dissipate their energies among an infinite multitude of different conceptions, more or less nebulous and foggy. Washington could not talk a thousand miles across the country by telephone, but what statesman to-day could write a message comparable in wisdom to the farewell message? It is the noblest piece of constructive wisdom of which I have any knowledge in any nation. It is as true to-day as it was one hundred and twenty-four years ago. Alexander Hamilton could not go from New York to Philadelphia in two hours. It probably took him three days, but he could

construct this government upon lines so fine that to-day the Treasury Department is still run substantially upon those lines. Franklin with his hand press, with which he threw off his brochures or broadsides or pamphlets, wielded a greater influence upon the life of his time than all the presses, the twenty-four and forty-eight pages of the *Times* and the *Tribune* put together. You may take the whole press of the country and they have less real influence in our day and generation upon the whole people, than Franklin had with his hand press, when, pressing down its lever, he molded the colonies into what they subsequently became, a union.

Those men of our heroic age had their feet on the ground; they only tried to see a few things, but they tried to see those few things with clarity of vision and they had a fine loyalty to truth rather than to nebulous phrases.

The curse of the world to-day is the fact that it substitutes language for thought and makes an end of mere literary form. We live in the age of machinery. That age of machinery has had, of course, infinite blessings. No one would dispute that, but it has had infinite evils; it is a Pandora's Box. So far as the manual toiler is concerned, I am deeply impressed with the fact that the underlying cause of the labor troubles that now threaten to engulf the world with anarchy, is the deadening of the soul of the manual toiler by the effect of machinery, that has robbed him of his pride of craft and his interest in his work. Hans Sachs, the Nuremburg shoemaker, could sing his songs, could lead the democratic masses of the old city, and yet the joy of his life primarily was in making a finished shoe. He made it from beginning to end and as Wagner shows in his opera, he not only made it but fitted it to Eva's foot and did a workmanlike job. But to-day the man who simply runs an impersonal machine, that puts a thousand eyelets to a shoe an hour, who does a perfectly deadening infinitesimal fragment of a piece of work, which involves no pride of artistry, no exercise of judgment, no skill or taste, nothing but the monotonous feeding in hour after hour of a given thing, the machinery doing the rest—that man's soul is necessarily deadened by boredom and the ennui of his existence.

It is not merely the manual toiler that is being deadened by

the age of machinery in the infinite diversifying of life. The specialization of human endeavor and the standardization of human life are also fatal to leadership in art, music, politics, or any higher occupation.

Political life is standardized like so much else in our life, and being standardized, it is reduced to the dull level of mediocrity which, however respectable, is none the less fatal to that fine civic existence which was once the glory of Athens.

Lord Northcliffe once said to me that the curse of America is that everything is standardized.

One effect of the age of machinery is thus to standardize our lives and to reduce them to a common mold and no great man was ever built of an age that had this tendency toward standardization. The Elizabethan Age produced a Shakespeare and his great contemporaries. Shakespeare's stage only had the ground for a floor and the sky for a ceiling; he had conditions to meet which were indescribably ignoble and sordid, and yet the spirit of his age of throbbing vitality and variety became "the spacious days" of Queen Elizabeth and the unequaled drama of Shakespeare became possible.

It has been said, and I believe it to be true, that the average citizen of Athens in the time of Pericles had a keener interest in public affairs, and what is more, a finer appreciation of all the higher things of life than the average citizen of any community of the twentieth century. The Athenian in his daily life crowded into the theater or walked in the shade of the Academy to listen to the philosophers or followed with keen, active interest the orators. There was an active, virile, civilization which compared with our time ought to fill us with some humiliation.

If you wish the contrast between the 35,000 citizens of Athens, who hung upon the words of Demosthenes, Socrates or Æschines, think what happened in this country from 1914 till we went into the war. You could almost number on the fingers of your two hands the men in this country of one hundred millions of people who in the autumn of 1914 dared to say publicly that America had any interest in the great world struggle. Even after the frontier of Belgium had been crossed in violation of all the proprieties of civilization, few spoke out in protest against our indefensible neutrality. When in Decem-

ber, 1914, I spoke at the New England Society Dinner in this city and advocated the intervention of this country to protest against the violation of the basic principles of civilization, I was called a fool by fifty different newspapers in this country. Up to the sinking of the *Lusitania,* there were few men who, if they had convictions with respect to the nature of the world struggle, gave any public utterance to them. Why was it that on every crossroads in this country and in every street of our cities, there was not the demand of an outraged people that the killing of American women and children on the high seas should stop? Our hesitation was not due to any ignoble defect in our character but was partly due to a certain discipline which said, "Let us wait for the government to act," which is in itself commendable. Was it not also partly due to this standardization of thought by which thousands of intelligent men in this country do not do their own thinking? Thus a too timed leadership was able to hold the nation back. I believe we have in this country as high an average of intelligence and morality as any country but it is silent and not militant. The complexity of our life tends to this specialization and localization of interest and that specialization tends to a certain abdication of the human mind and conscience with reference to questions that happen to be, as we conceive it, somewhat out of our particular sphere of influence. What is everyone's business becomes no one's. Public opinion has largely ceased to function.

My second suggestion is this:

At the time the Constitution was framed, the telegraph, the cable and the railroad were undreamed of possibilities, but when they came, the influences of steam and electricity, working through the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the wireless, caused a centripetal driving of the states into the central government as if they were planets being absorbed by a central sun.

This has been long recognized, but that which is not so readily appreciated is that concurrently there has been a centrifugal action, working, not in political government, but in the larger government that we can call the social life of the nation. The effect of the age of machinery has been to disintegrate the social commonwealth as distinguished from the

political commonwealth. Thus our social life is slowly disintegrating, while the nation as a political entity is consolidating. It is socially disintegrating into groups, geographical, class and others. In other words, there is a great transfer of power from the political government to non-governmental groups and with many men the aspiration for leadership is often satisfied in being conspicuous in a group or in a locality rather than in the larger sphere of federal activity.

I sometimes fear that the time may come when this government will be too big to be workable. That thought has been on my mind for ten years and it haunts me like an obsession. It is easy for us to say, "This government could not possibly be destroyed. It is bound to grow greater and greater," but in my judgment the country is fast approaching the time when its very size will make its operation difficult because its very size, accompanied by these centrifugal forces, is accelerating this disintegration. You cannot interest men to-day of one locality in the rest of the country. He may take a passing interest in Washington, but his chief interest is localized by the very immensity of the country. California is interested in California and little more. You know it has been said that New Yorkers never look beyond the Bronx, and there is much truth in it. At all events the steady process of localization due to this centrifugal action is undoubtedly destructive of the development of the higher national citizenship. That can be illustrated by this fact. Shakespeare said that the prosperity of a jest lies in the ear of him that hears it, and so the recognition of the greatness of a man depends somewhat upon the receptive capacity of the people. The result is that no man, no matter what his intrinsic merits may be, can be great in this country without the mechanics of publicity. The bigger the country gets the more difficult the mechanics of publicity become. A man may be a fine and accomplished poet, a good artist or an accomplished statesman, but he will find himself "cribbed, cabined and confined" in his own locality because the inability to get recognition in the press is a fatal bar to his getting further. How many Senators of the United States can get more than a few inches in a New York paper? That is their constant complaint down in Washington. I have talked to them and they have said, "We have done big things; we

have gone to the Senate; we have made some big fight in which New York is vitally interested and when we picked up the papers next morning hardly a reference to it could be found." It is only some sensational event that gives a man publicity and then only a few leaders get the publicity, without which a man is apt to "blush unseen," to use Gray's expression.

The larger the country becomes and the more it disintegrates into localities, the more complex and cumbersome the mechanics of publicity, and I think this partly explains why there is not apparently more material for presidential office. There are doubtless thousands of men in this country who would make fine material for the presidential office. The American people will not consider any president unless he has a nation-wide reputation, and how is he to get a nation-wide reputation unless he can have a conspicuous place in a nation-wide press? That is the problem.

I now come to a consideration that ought to give us serious thought, the failure of our colleges to develop a taste and capacity for public life. Why they have failed I do not know but that they have failed is, I think, a lamentable fact. I think you could take the seniors of almost any college of this country and you would be amazed at their ignorance of American history outside of the merest elementary training. I doubt whether many of our under-graduates could pass an intelligent examination on the Constitution of the United States. A few specialists in the subject can, but no man ought to graduate from a college or even any technical department of a university and get any degree in this country unless he can pass an examination upon the Constitution of his country.

Compare our colleges with the English colleges as nurseries of leadership: Oxford and Cambridge have had their unions for hundreds of years. They are attended by four or five hundred graduates at every debate. That is the training school for Parliament. You could almost pick out of the Oxford Union the men who, five or ten years from now, will be the leaders in debate in the House of Commons. They have a pride in it, but in our country our colleges are so mad after athletics, so eager to get students at any cost, they so depreciate the discipline of scholarship—in other words, they are

so disposed to make of our colleges mere social clubs, sometimes degenerating into schools of snobbery, that our colleges have failed to function in developing the finest material for public life.

One of the first things we must do, if we are ever going to cure this evil, is to make it the primal duty of every American college to develop good citizens. The athletes will keep.

My last suggestion is this: The gravest cause of the evil we are discussing is the abuse of the democratic principle. Our fathers never designed our Constitution to be submitted to the tests to which we have subjected it. When the Constitution was adopted, even universal manhood suffrage was unknown. To-day we have not only universal manhood suffrage without respect either to literacy tests or property qualifications, but in addition the doubling of the vote by the enfranchisement of women. What effect that will have upon the future of our institutions only time will tell. Let us hope for the best.

But the fact remains that our fathers did not believe in the democratic principle to the extent that we believe in it. And because they refused to accept unlimited democracy, they were capable of a leadership to which we cannot approximate. All through the debates in the Constitutional Convention, you will find that the framers never mentioned "democracy," except to abhor it. By democracy, they meant a pure democracy —that is, direct action by the people. They did not believe in it; they did not believe that it was possible for the electorate to do more than select good and true men to represent them, and they expected their representatives should act in a judicial capacity. In the debates of the Constitutional Convention you will find that whatever their disagreement was on other matters, they were agreed with substantial unanimity upon the representative system which they called Republicanism. And by the representative system, they meant the selection of men in the manner that I have described—the House of Representatives directly by the people, the Senators by the Legislatures of the several States, and the President by the Electoral College; that in those three ways, the best men were to be selected and to them should be committed the destinies of the country. These representatives were to act according to their best judgment and not to please alleged majorities.

That was their idea, and they carried it out. George Washington went from Virginia to represent Virginia in the Constitutional Convention. He did not ask what the majority of the people of Virginia wanted. On the contrary, on the eve of the Constitutional Convention, he expressed, as no one ever better expressed the true spirit of representative government. He said: "If to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

The mere submission to the caprices of an alleged, and often imaginary, majority was not Washington's conception of statesmanship. He believed that a member of the House of Representatives was there to make the just and wise decision, even though a majority of his constituents did not believe it to be just or wise. All this runs counter to our present conception of democracy.

We remember how President Washington stood back the mobs in Philadelphia who were unwilling to accept the Jay Treaty. He believed the Jay Treaty to be just and wise, as posterity has shown, and it did not matter to him that the majority of the people apparently opposed it.

There has been a gradual change in our Constitutional institutions, in the conversion of this democratic principle of Republicanism,—for our fathers did believe in a true democracy,—into a pure and almost unrestrained democracy. To a republican system they were willing to commit their destinies, and to none other. But, gradually in the rise of the Democratic dogma, there has come the idea that the representative is not a representative, but to use an inelegant expression, a mere phonograph. The supposed majority of the people put on a record, and turn the little lever, and he is supposed to play a certain tune. With this conception of his duties, there can be no pride of intellect on his part, because to find out what the majority of his constituents want, or what the majority of his own party want, is to him the only duty of statesmanship, and such a conception of duty is fatal to true leadership.

With those conditions, can you be surprised that there is such a lack of leadership? You could no more gather figs from thistles than you could gather leaders of men from a

system of Government that makes a man abdicate his reasons and his conscience, because of a supposed duty to obey that which he thinks a majority, real or imaginary, of his constituents require or aggravate this evil tendency by our frequent elections which weary the people, and by that final abomination the "direct primary." It has possibly done more to destroy leadership in the American democracy than any other single cause.

I remember, as a young man, participating in the centennial celebration of the Constitution of the United States in Philadelphia. It was a marvelous celebration. There, under the Gothic arches of the trees of Independence Square, a hundred thousand people gathered to acclaim the great document. President Cleveland, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the members of the Senate and the House, and the diplomats of all nations were there. When the old document was brought forth, one hundred thousand voices united in a joyous *"io triomphe"* as they greeted that which Gladstone said was "the most perfect work ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man at a given time."

At that time no one suggested that the document did not fully meet the necessities of the American people. There was implicit faith, perhaps there was too much faith, because you cannot "crib, cabin and confine" a virile people within even so fine an instrument as the Constitution. But to-day, the lack of faith and even lack of interest in the instrument, the indifference as to whether it continues to exist, or perishes with all other written constitutions of man, is the most amazing and portentous phenomenon of the time.

Even among educated people too many have only a very inadequate idea of what is the political and moral philosophy back of these cold provisions, written almost like a treatise in mathematics, and yet simply vibrant with moral life, and the deepest political wisdom.

The Constitution cannot exist as a piece of paper. It can only survive if the people of this country have faith in it, and when their faith dies, it will be as a tree in the forest when the sap is gone—it may stand for a little while, but its fall is inevitable.

I read the other day that Secretary Lansing had recently

brought out of the safe in the State Department that old document. The ink was still there; it had not faded; you could still read the writing, as the scrivener had laboriously inscribed it over a century ago. But while the ink has not faded, do you question that the faith of many Americans has faded in it? Go out into your highways, go all over this broad land, put it to the test by invoking its provisions against anything that runs counter to the supposed interests of the masses, and then realize how much real regard still remains for the Constitution of the United States. And yet without that Constitution, this country will not hold together. It would fall apart inevitably; and it will fall apart unless we can develop a leadership adequate to the great task. We must, upon the peril of the immortal soul of this nation, find men who will rise "to the height of this great argument to assert the eternal providence" in that Constitution and thus vindicate "the ways of God to men."

REPRESENTATIVE VERSUS DELEGATED DEMOCRACY

DISCUSSION OF MR. BECK'S ADDRESS

BY MR. ALLEYNE IRELAND

Mr. Alleyne Ireland spoke briefly upon topics suggested by Mr. Beck's address. He pointed out that there was an almost entire lack of reality in present-day discussions of politics. For instance, Mr. Beck had made a most interesting and eloquent oration on the condition of American political life in modern times; but it had been for the most part addressed to a situation which did not, in fact, exist and which had not existed for many years in the United States—namely to the operation of *representative* democracy.

There was, Mr. Ireland asserted, no representative democracy to-day in the United States; what there was was a system of delegated democracy. The extreme importance of differentiating between these two forms of government would be instantly realized if the audience would recall that every argument advanced in favor of a representative system was necessarily an argument against a system of delegated political power.

Under the former system millions of people who, by no stretch of the imagination could be considered capable of reaching an informed, an unprejudiced, and an unselfish view in regard to public polity, might well be considered capable of making a wise choice between two candidates who sought to represent them.

The principle animating the theory of representative government was that the less informed and the less experienced in the community would select representatives from among the more informed and the more experienced; and, having selected them, would allow them a large measure of freedom in regard to legislative proposals.

The theory of delegated government rests upon considera-

tions the exact opposite of the foregoing. It holds that the person sent to the legislature to "represent" the voter shall have no real independence, that he shall in all things be guided by the specific demands made upon him by the voter, that he shall, in fact, be a mere rubber stamp for his constituents.

The vital difference between representative and delegated democracy was thrashed out at great length during the discussions which preceded the passage of the English Reform Bill of 1832. The point at issue was tersely stated by Sir Robert Inglis in the course of the debate in the House of Commons: "This House," he said, "is not a collection of deputies, as the States-General of Holland and as the assemblies in some other continental countries are. We are not sent here day by day to represent the opinions of our constituents. Their local rights, their municipal privileges, we are bound to protect; their general interests we are bound to consult at all times; but not their will, unless it shall coincide with our own deliberate sense of right."

Mr. Ireland then referred to what Mr. Beck had said about the lack in American political life of men like the late J. P. Morgan, E. H. Harriman, and J. J. Hill—men remarkably endowed with that genius of practicality which is characteristic of American leadership outside of politics. The reason, Mr. Ireland declared, why such men kept out of political life was that under a system of delegated democracy there was no place for them. In the world of industry and finance there was always a *real* situation, which appealed to men of constructive abilities. They could study their problem, formulate their plan, develop their method, without having to consult, still less to obey, persons greatly their inferior in knowledge and intelligence.

In politics the situation as it appeared to such men was wholly *unreal*. In this field numbers alone counted; special training had little if any value; the most careful study, the widest experience, the most anxious consideration could at any moment be swept aside by an adverse vote at an election—a vote often determined upon grounds entirely foreign to the particular matter upon which the experts had been engaged. It was not a Morgan, or a Hill, or a Harriman who would spend months working out a plan, with the aid of all the skill, all the

experience, all the judgment which money could buy, and would then take a vote of the trainmen or of the bank messengers as to whether it should be adopted. Yet this absurd position was exactly the one which arose whenever the principle of representative republicanism was replaced by that of delegated democracy.

Most of the ills from which this country was now suffering, Mr. Ireland concluded, could be remedied by reverting to the original plan of government laid down in the Constitution; none of them could be remedied unless we reverted to it.

SOME PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY *

By Harry Pratt Judson, LL.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

I feel at home speaking to an audience of New York people, as I am a native of this State, a graduate of a Massachusetts college, and was never west of Niagara Falls till I was nearly of middle age. It always interests me to have my Eastern friends say something about how "you Western people regard them." In fact, that is the make-up of a large body of us Western people—we come from somewhere else.

Three years ago, it was my privilege, from the gallery of the House of Representatives, to hear the address of the President of the United States, recommending a joint resolution declaring a state of war between this country and the Imperial Government of Germany, and one of those thrilling sentences—those were days when we felt deeply, and felt together, mainly—was that we should aim to "make the world safe for democracy."

Much water has run under the bridge in the last three years. It may perhaps be a question to-day—even an important one—whether we ought not to make democracy safe for the world. Some of these problems I will venture to discuss with you to-night in a very informal way. And may I, at the outset, mention a few very trite postulates, familiar to us all, because they form the basis of some things of which I shall speak later.

Now, democracy, in other words, political democracy of course, means one of two things—the right to hold office, and the right to vote, that is suffrage. Now suffrage, universal suffrage, is only a relative term; there is nothing absolute about it. One country is more democratic in that sense than another, if the electorate is more widely extended. One state is more democratic than it was some time in the past if, on the whole, its electorate is now more widely extended. Your

* Address at the Annual Dinner of the Institute, April 22, 1920.

state—my state—of New York is far more democratic in that sense than it was one hundred years ago, as through all these decades gradually suffrage has been more widely extended. It was limited not merely to men in those early days under the first constitution of this state, but it was limited by other requirements. Now many restrictions are gone. So that democracy, in that sense, is purely a relative term; there is nothing absolute in it. Of course, we fully understand that it is impossible that every member of the body politic shall have the right to vote. There will always be a certain proportion who will not be able to vote—I needn't discuss that at all.

Further, suffrage is by no means what we call a "natural right." I am not raising the philosophical question of whether or not there is such a thing as a natural right. But our forebears who wrote the Declaration of Independence claimed that there are certain inalienable rights given by nature, and among these are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—but not necessarily the right to vote. That, I suppose, is wholly a political right, a legal right, given by virtue of law, and, like the right to hold office, is simply a trust, to be exercized for the benefit, not merely of the one who holds it, but of the entire community. That is the essence of it, although it is not always felt in that sense, I fear, and not always used for that purpose, I should think. Yet, that is it in its essence; that is, the right to vote is simply a trust, to be used for the benefit of the entire community.

I think there are at least three essential conditions for the safe exercise of this trust of suffrage. The first of these, I am inclined to think, is intelligence; that is, enough intelligence to understand fundamental public affairs. How far that intelligence should go may be a little difficult to say. I am not satisfied that mere ability to read and write is an adequate test of such intelligence. There are conditions under which very intelligent people have not been gifted with those particular accomplishments; and there are very many people who have those accomplishments who, in my judgment, are totally unfit to vote, because they are unfit to exercise suffrage as a trust for the benefit of the people at large.

How far should one understand fundamental public

questions, to be permitted to vote? He will not, of course, need to know all the niceties of constitutional law. There are certain states, I believe, that require the voter to submit an intelligent answer to a question as to the interpretation of the constitution of his state. On the face of it, that seems a fairly reasonable arrangement, and yet I suspect that almost any ordinary lawyer could frame an unanswerable question based on the interpretation of the constitution of our state, if he wanted to deprive us of the right to vote. Such things, I am told, have happened.

There is another state in the Union, which I beg to say is east of the state in which I reside, in which they have a body of the legal profession, known there as "constitutional lawyers." They don't mean by that gentlemen who are versed in the Constitution of the United States, and the powers of the Supreme Court, and so on. The constitution of that particular state provides that any person—I am not sure whether "a person" isn't the only limitation there—who desires to practice law may do so by simply filing his declaration to that intent with the proper official, and announcing it in public. Anybody who files his intent to practice law, and hangs out his shingle, is thereby a lawyer, and they call them in that state "constitutional lawyers."

I think that there ought to be some kind of knowledge of the basic principles upon which our Government exists, for one to be a voter. One may not, perhaps, know all the niceties of economics and finance to be a fairly intelligent voter. I don't know how many members, Mr. President, of this Society, are really accomplished financiers and economists. I hope they all are. Of course, all here to-night are. But we can't expect all voters to go so far as that. Some of us remember very distinctly a great discussion about finance that happened in the year 1896, when everybody was discussing fundamental principles of money and currency, and everybody knew all about it, and some knew more than that in some parts of the world. But those spasms of intelligence about economics and finance among the body politic are rather infrequent. And yet, it seems to me idle to base the safe government of our country on an ignorant electorate. We know what happens. They are led in masses very easily by demagogues; the most shrewd,

the most unscrupulous, the most dangerous ones are the ones who lead them with the greatest success. We can't afford, then, to have the basis of our suffrage a dense ignorance.

And isn't that, perhaps, the first of the many problems of our democratic state—how to secure a safe kind of intelligence for our voters? It is sometimes said in our part of the world—perhaps it is not true here—that democracy under present conditions means government by the sixth grade in our public schools. Of course, the great mass of our voters have never gone beyond that degree of education. It happens that very, very many haven't reached that degree of education.

Of course, there is a great misapprehension about education. We sometimes think that education is confined to schools and colleges. But that is only part of it. That gives people a chance; it gives them a start—but that is all. Education is not merely in the schools; it is in the home, on the street, in the community of life, and as a matter of fact, it should go on as long as one is above ground. Education should never stop, except when life itself does. And I am not prepared to say whether it does stop then. I will leave that to my friend, the Bishop, on my right.

But a very wise provision of a democracy, I do believe, is to carry on education intelligently, and not leave it simply in the hands of demagogues beyond the elementary schools, in which the great masses of our voters are educated. That can be done, I think.

A second of the fundamental principles, I believe, essential to the safe exercise of a democratic government is a widespread interest in public affairs. Now, that seems very simple, and yet I wonder how far there is that widespread interest among our voters. In answer to that question, I refer you to a vote at any time in your state, or in my state, on the question of amending the Constitution of the State. People sometimes do get wildly excited as to whether somebody should be elected to a certain office or not. But when you propose a fundamental change in the organic law of your state, it is sometimes difficult to get enough people to vote on it to have it considered adequately. And, of course, that means general apathy —a failure to be interested in real public things.

They are interested in elections, meaning by that the elec-

tion of some person to office. Their interest in that, as I said, is sometimes exceedingly intense. That I understand. And yet, I have noticed oftentimes that interest is much more keen against the election of somebody to office. Our people somehow seem to be more interested in attacking people than in defending them, and, therefore, are very much interested in beating somebody who is a candidate for office. Well, I don't say that at times there are candidates who ought not to be beaten. But, at the same time, it seems to me that there should be developed—and if our public is to be a safely democratic one—there must be developed a wider and more intelligent interest in what is actually going on in the state.

I don't wonder, of course, at these excitements about the election of individuals, or the defeat of individuals. Not long since a distinguished clergyman admitted to me that it was much easier to make unjust, and not quite correct, sweeping condemnations, because that made a very effective point in a sermon. From the point of view of one who is interested in science, and in history, I am inclined to think that it would be far better, of course, if when our clergymen refer to facts like that, they would confine themselves to historical methods, and try to find out whether what they are saying is true. Of course, I say that with diffidence. But, as I say, this came from a prominent and very successful preacher. Why? The reason is perfectly plain, of course, and that is that faults are conspicuous, whereas virtues are very inconspicuous.

The same thing is true with news, isn't it? It is news that a certain cashier of a bank is an embezzler. It is not news that thousands of banking men are honest all their lives long. Therefore, one gets in the press; the other doesn't. Of course, there is something of human nature, I suppose, in all that. And yet, I am told that in many parts of the country a very large proportion of the most intelligent members of our body politic don't vote, ordinarily. I don't know what the percentage is in your state; it is very considerable in my state. I am told that a very large percentage of those who are qualified to vote under the laws, don't even register. I don't know what percentage there is in your state; it is very large in my state. They don't take an interest; they are busy about other things that at the time may perhaps seem more important.

Therefore, it seems to me, another problem of democracy is how to interest as large a proportion of the community as possible in our public affairs. There are several suggestions on that. Some think there ought to be a law. Of course, when we think a thing is wrong, we say, "Let's have a law to remedy it." Some think there ought to be a law for compulsory voting, requiring everybody to vote, or imposing a penalty if they fail to vote. I don't myself believe that would be very effective, because the vote of a person who doesn't care much about it, it seems to me, is not worth very much. We should care very much more for the vote of the person who is really interested enough to know what he is voting on.

Such a law would be too much like the proposition offered to levy a high tax on bachelors, the intent being, of course, not simply to get money into the Treasury, but to rather discourage bachelorhood. That might have that effect on some minds, but I wonder if they would be very valuable as helpmates. I have my doubts.

The fact is, you see, ladies and gentlemen, it isn't great excitements like war, silver, slavery, and the like—it isn't those great excitements that really determine the solid things in our National life. It is the plain, simple, everyday, humdrum duty of government, that goes on every day, and every week, and every month, and all the year, that counts. Those are the things in which the great body of our people must be interested, if we are going to get very far, because, mind you, the people who are dangerous in our public life, the people who are using suffrage, not as a trust for the community, but for their own personal interests, do take a very active interest in all the elections. They do register; they do vote; they are always on the job. And if the great mass of our intelligent public don't want to see things managed by that class of demagogue, they also must be always on the job—always. We must make it the business of all to know what is going on.

I have been told that the common schools of Switzerland are exceedingly efficient. My pedagogical friends say they are among the most efficient in the world. And I am also told that in a Swiss village community the school is perfectly well known by the entire community. They know all the teachers; they know all their qualities, they especially know all their

good qualities; they know the various methods they are using. And the teachers are in the homes constantly, with the people. Now, that kind of a school is bound to be a good school, because it represents the consensus, the interest, the energy, the hope of the entire community. If that will make a good school in Switzerland, I wonder if it wouldn't make a good school in our state of New York. I wonder if it wouldn't make a good town government in one of our towns, or a good city government in some of our cities, all of which, I am told, are not famed for the excellence of their government. I come from Chicago.

But another, a third, fundamental principle, it seems to me, in our democracy is a sense of responsibility for public affairs, not merely intelligence and interest, but a sense of responsibility. Now, the trouble with democracy is just this, the old story: Everybody's business is nobody's business. And so we are all willing to think, "Let somebody else do it." We are so interested in our private affairs, our business, our profession—whatever it may be—that we are content to let somebody else do the governing. And somebody is always ready to do it. He never fails to be on hand. If we are willing that somebody else should govern, somebody will govern, not on the whole, I fancy, the somebodies we should select, if we used our best intelligence. Then we have selfishness, and class voting.

And can there be any greater fault in our democratic government than class consciousness? There should be no classes in the United States of America. We are all Americans, all citizens alike; all have common interests in public welfare and public life. And it will be a tremendous disaster when we fall into classes, as has been the case in some of the countries of the Old World—and class voting, worst of all.

All public affairs should disregard races, sectarianism, economic status, and make it the rule that all are for each, and each one is for all. If we can accomplish measurably even that sense of responsibility for all, for our neighbors, as well as for ourselves, we shall have something done for the public welfare.

The theory of a democratic republic is that the majority

rules. How far the facts correspond with the theory is a matter which needs fair consideration.

To begin with, the fundamental principle of our Constitution is that of federation. In other words, the mass of the people is broken up into a series of units which we call states, and the combined will of the whole is, generally speaking, that of a majority of the states. In each state or in each congressional district in the state a majority of those who vote is supposed to choose candidates for office. In this way the members of the Senate are chosen by forty-eight groups, and the members of the House of Representatives by nearly 400 groups of voters. The President and Vice-President of the United States through the electoral colleges are again chosen by forty-eight groups of electors as the law now reads.

It can be seen at a glance that this method of choosing the President is far safer than would be the case were there direct election, by the entire mass of voters in the United States. The latter method, were it in force, would undoubtedly lead to obvious temptation to fraud. Further in so great a mass of votes entire accuracy of returns could not be expected and the danger in the case of a close election would be obvious. In 1839 the Governor of Massachusetts was chosen by a majority of one vote in the entire vote of the state. The accuracy of the return could be tested without serious difficulty in so small a number of votes and in a state composed essentially of rural communities. But under the present conditions in the United States the difficulty that might be raised in a nearly balanced election needs no discussion.

Nevertheless in all our electoral units our system practically provides, not for a majority rule but for a minority rule. This is insured by the provision in practically all our electoral laws for a choice by plurality. The decision of an election by plurality vote after all means little more than that the candidate or the measure is on the face of the returns the choice of a minority of the voters. Shrewd manipulation by expert politicians often makes it entirely possible to divide the electorate in this way so that a well-managed minority may secure control. Further these successful minorities are very frequently in the hands of an oligarchy of managers who thus

secure the control of a municipality or state or even of the United States.

The obvious, but perhaps expensive, remedy for this would lie in a second election whenever necessary to secure the choice of a majority. At this election only the two standing highest on the list at the previous election should be candidates.

It seems to me that a safe democratic principle is that no measure should be adopted and no candidate elected save by a majority of those voting.

Another very serious and somewhat difficult problem of democracy, then, is how to secure an actual majority vote.

So much for a few fundamental things. Now, it seems to me that the welfare of our Republic depends in the last analysis, after all, on the character of our electorate, not on its number. It isn't vitally important that two-thirds, or three-fourths, or four-fifths of our entire body politic should vote. That is a minor matter. The primary question is: What sort of voters are they? What is their essential character?

Now, we have according to tradition in our Republic opened our doors very freely to the influx of nearly all who wished to come from almost any part of the world. But, is it wise to swell our citizenship, and our electorate, with masses of those who, first, are, as many of these are, most densely ignorant; second, of those who are essentially alien to our principles of law and liberty; in the third place, who are especially in many, many cases the avowed and active enemies of our entire constitutional system? Are we under any obligation, I say, to make citizens, and voters of those whom we know to be dangerous to the foundations of our Republic? It seems to me if we do that, we shall, thereby, turn the majority of intelligent, law-abiding, and patriotic citizens, of necessity, in the not far future, into a minority. And then our Republic, and its freedom, will disappear. In other words, it seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, that we must defend our electorate against its own enemies just as loyally as we would defend our boys against the attack of an enemy army.

Therefore, another problem, it seems to me, is to grant citizenship, which is after all the most precious privilege we have to bestow, with jealous care. I am distressed at times

to know how our courts handle applications for naturalization. The law is definite enough, but can it under ordinary conditions be enforced adequately, when these people come in crowds before the court, when the courts cannot know their qualities, or whether or not they are "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States," cannot know whether they will make good, law-abiding citizens? It seems to me that is a tremendous disaster. Our whole system of making citizens out of aliens, it seems to me, should be recast, with a view of seeing to it that nobody should be endowed with that privilege unless he is qualified, in the sense that he will be a real American citizen.

Surely we need to secure a more intelligent, a more widely interested electorate; and if the recent addition to the great mass of our voters will work in that direction, it will be a great blessing—if it works the other way, it will be a great curse. If we can add to the great body of our workers those who are intelligent, those who are law-abiding, those who are interested, those who are willing to do the simple, prosaic thing the Government needs, then our Republic will stay; otherwise, I believe, it is not a question of whether democracy will be safe for the world, but it is a question of whether democracy will be safe for the Republic of our fathers for the United States of America.

LEADERSHIP AND LIBERTY

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It has been said that every great epoch in history reflects the essential quality of leadership; that every successful enterprise, large or small, is but the length and breadth of the shadow of a man. This figure speaks of the value of services rendered by those whose superior resolution, quickness of judgment and commanding personality inspire confidence and furnish the common impulse needed for effective teamwork. It brings to mind the king, not the prophet; the executive, not the searcher for truth, the teacher, the moralist. All honor to the executive leader—the trusted head, the controlling will, of men in action who under leadership have combined their talents for the achievement of objective results!

And the world has rewarded him, if it has not honored him above all others. The man who stands out for his daring becomes the hero deified. The Conqueror is crowned. The captain of industry is enriched—is awarded, out of the spoils of conquest over nature, a share by which he is able to amass great fortune; great wealth is his "to have and to hold" in order that his leadership, that has proved so serviceable to the group, may be continued and extended. But what of that other type of leader; what place shall be given to him who seeks to inspire men to attain nothing objective—who labors to lead men in a conquest that lies in the realm of race ideals, concepts of justice, culture, civilization?

It has taken the world a long time to learn that both of these types of leadership must be conserved; that both are necessary, the one for peace and good will, the other for physical well-being; that each must be independent of and not subservient to the other; and that if either must be sacrificed, the people will in the end insist that those leaders who organize for objective results shall be offered up on the altar in order that justice and freedom may live. Thus is executive leader-

ship made subservient, not to the idealist, but to that common consciousness which is exalted and made sovereign.

Of this fact history gives ample proof. The world's greatest political organizations in which executive leadership was given precedence have been pulled down or forced to accept the principle. Under Julius Cæsar, executive leadership gained control and inspirational leadership was made subservient or crushed to earth. The legions of Rome overrode all opposition. In the dust and noise of the Imperial City, the people made drunk with the spoils of conquest, the voice of Cicero fell on dead ears; and the diadem of power passed down and down for an age through a line of autocrats. But the while idealism was undermining autocracy in a group consciousness that ultimately was to rule. Following after Cicero, in a border province was heard the voice of a Great Teacher. To the lowly, laborers and fishermen, he talked of a common Fatherhood and of the common brotherhood of mankind. His message was common justice and common service. Despairing multitudes gathered to hear him and the Great Teacher was crucified. But in the souls of common men his idealism, his gospel of justice, went marching on. His preachment reached the hearts of the hopeless; his philosophy of optimism became a bond of perpetual union to the downtrodden and oppressed. Wherever his doctrine of equality before God, and liberty through service to others came to be known and understood, it found lodgment. Finally it had so far impregnated the popular mind under Roman rule that the executive head of the Empire, being hard pressed and in need of support by the masses, went out and recruited his army and led them into battle under "the Sign of the Cross." And after overcoming Maxentius in a decisive battle at Milvian Bridge, Constantine issued the first great Charter of liberty, the Edict of Milan.

The events leading up to the great Charter of Anglo-Saxon liberty have a like meaning. After the Conquest of England, while William recognized in the head of the church the right to spiritual leadership he and his successors sought to make this leadership subservient. But those who spoke for justice and who labored for conscience sake, who were trusted to lead

in the realm of ideals, refused all proffers of power and wealth. First Anselm, then Thomas à Becket, then Fitz-Osbert, then Hamden stood before the people as the standard bearers of the principle of right against might. Finally the whole nation was aroused and at Runnymede King John, vanquished in bloodless battle, the national executive leader was forced to bow his head lest his followers forsake him.

Most striking of all is the recent World War. Its cause, its unprecedented proportions, its final collapse and the victory of the Allies over the Hun—every phase of it speaks of the need for reconciling executive leadership with commonly accepted concepts of justice and humanity when brought into the high court of conscience by the inspirational leadership of the people.

A democracy is a political régime in which there is frank recognition not alone of the need for both these types of leadership, but also of the need for making both types of leadership responsive and responsible to the people. Representative government is a modern device for making democracy effective, over wide geographic areas, with a numerous and widely scattered population. During the last seven centuries it has been the preachment of idealists and the special care of great statesmen to adapt the institutions of democracy in such manner that executive leadership may be effective for the achievement of objective results without becoming autocratic—i.e., without impairing the leadership that makes for justice or robbing the public conscience of its dominance in control. In its latter day development, representative government has developed procedures for making both types of leadership responsible.

Democratic constitutions and charters proceed from the principle, recognized by Constantine and later by a whole nation under King John: That the supreme power of a state rests with a self-conscious people, determined to maintain their ideals and institutions and to follow leaders whom they trust. Democratic constitution rests on the propositions that law is not the dictum of an individual but the product of the national character; that sovereignty is the power of the people behind the law and the government; that leaders must be servants.

> "Kings and parliaments who serve as its vehicle utter it, but they do not possess it. Sovereignty resides in the community."

Leaders of thought, orators, interpreters, seers, leaders for justice, leaders in the development of ideals speak to the conscience of the sovereign of people—the citizenry. Executive leaders are the duly constituted agents through which the sovereign, the citizenry, speaks and acts in the achievement of objectives.

Where sovereignty and the law has resided in the self-consciousness of the people, government becomes an arrangement by which the citizenry organize for self-expression. That is, government is an established acceptable method of securing justice and providing for needed community service—a means whereby a population possessed of common sympathies and ideals provide themselves with better instruments than if they relied on temporary devices and arrangements among themselves to meet the demands of each occasion or emergency as it might arise. Time and again it has been proved that, with a people joined in common idealism, having common standards of justice, government is not a necessity. Permanently established institutions, to a united people, are simply conveniences which grow up in response to the law of advantage.

But whether the common idealism and sovereignty of the people finds expression in temporary organization or permanent institutions, this fact must also be realized, that the popular will can be ascertained and energized only by and through leaders. The type of organization to be adopted, therefore, ever turns on the question of the kind of leadership to be conserved and used—whether responsible or autocratic, and if responsible whether centralized or decentralized, single or multiple, etc. Democracy has stood the test of time because its ideals of liberty, equality, and common brotherhood have made the broadest appeal and have proved the strongest bond of union in the development of group consciousness,—thereby giving to executive leaders the broadest possible basis for appeal in organization for action. So, too, representative government has stood the test of time, because it has proved to be the most effective means at once of develop-

ing strong executive leaders, and of controlling them. To put it in another way: Much as a strong able executive leadership may be desired, the people will not foster it or permit it to develop, except in time of emergency, beyond their control. The two things, therefore, work together. For, given a sure and effective means of control over executive leadership, and the prowess of a democratic nation limited only by its ability to develop and utilize its leadership. To provide a machinery of control adequate to give the people confidence in its executive leadership at all times is the function of the representative system.

It becomes at once apparent, when we read and analyze the great charters of representative government, that organization in its many forms is only an arrangement for developing and effectively using leadership. The first fact to be noted is that every form of constitutional government is premised on the principle of popular sovereignty—the right of the people to control. The second fact to be noted is that in these charters the people have placed their moral leadership above and beyond the reach of those who are to exercise delegated powers—beyond the reach of executives and even beyond the reach of representative bodies. Such was the significance and purpose of the decree of Milan and of Magna Charta; such is the purpose of those fundamental declarations by which are guaranteed freedom of conscience; the rights of free-speech, free-press and peaceable assembly. Having disposed of these fundamentals we turn to organization. The third fact to be noted is that the permanent agencies of government organized by the people for the exercise of powers are of two kinds: (1) agencies for the utilization of executive leadership—for the realization of predetermined objectives, and (2) agencies for the utilization of inspirational, and moral leadership—for reflection and group deliberation looking toward the establishment of moral standards and applying them to the settlement of controversies which arise as between individuals and groups in action.

Making this generalization more concrete, so that we may recognize the leaders and the several kinds of institutional devices through which social ends are achieved: The several agencies built around executive leadership are those for *mili-*

tary service, and those for non-military or *civil service;* the several types of agencies built around inspirational and moral leadership within the government are those for public *education,* those for the *adjudication* of established rights, those for the *determination of group policy,* and those for the *exercise of control over leadership.* Thus on the one hand stand out, under executive leadership, the armies, the navies, and the civil services which make for public *prosperity;* and, on the other hand, the schools, the courts, representative deliberative bodies, and the electorate—the agencies of enlightenment, *justice and control.*

An analysis of the constitutions of democracy reveals the fact that while provision is made for executive leadership, the principles declared and provisions made for the protection and use of inspirational and moral leadership make up the main part of the text. Extend the inquiry into organic, statutory law and into the devices that reflect practical experience in dealing with the two types of leadership and it will be found that each has developed its own form differing from the other at every point, in organization and in method, as well as in purpose. For the purpose of securing coöperation in group action military or civil, executive leadership is clothed with authority to command. The form of organization is hierarchical—that is, it is made up of men graduated as inferiors and superiors; discipline has for its end assurance of prompt obedience to an over-riding, dominating, determining will and effective coöperation. Whether the executive branch of the nation's government be all under one head or "chief," or the work to be done be divided and the authority decentralized, each agency has its dominating will, each head may have its own planning and reviewing "staff," and from the head through an established "line" of authority leadership reaches out to and directs the movements of the several working groups as the various members and organs of the human body are dominated by the mind. It is the organization and the discipline of a collectivism.

The agencies built around inspirational and moral leadership are of an essentially different type. The appeal of leaders is to individualism: the purpose is to promote or protect individual equality and the consciousness of a right of self-

determination. The idealist assumes no authority over the mind. The discipline is based on individual responsibility, and is administered not to enforce obedience to leadership in action, but only to give to leadership a hearing; the end sought is not prompt response in team-work, but individual conviction. There is no single overruling determining will as it is conceived that each will has an equal right of self-expression; the only right which the leadership enjoys is that of appeal to free moral agents; the method is that of instruction, independent criticism, argument, deliberation. Each person is asked to weigh reasons "for" and reasons "against" and reach his own conclusion. Group determination is the result of a concurrence—the approval of a "plurality," a majority, a two-thirds or unanimous vote as predetermined by rule.

Having provided for the fullest freedom of expression on the part of those who are looked to for inspirational leadership—the nation's teachers, preachers, artists, interpreters, orators, writers—in appeals to intelligence, justice and common concepts of right and duty, democracy has not only found peace but also the prosperity which goes with effective cooperation. Democracy has been able to develop greater power, in those competitions which test institutional worth, than has autocracy, because the people have felt free to give reign to their most resourceful executives. And this feeling of confidence in leaders has been a feeling of confidence in their own ideals vouched safe in the development of devices of popular control over leaders—devices which have proved effective for the protection of individual liberty while promoting efficiency.

The development of these devices of control is Europe's contribution to representative government during the nineteenth century. In whatever variation, these devices rest on one principle: The requirement that the two types of leaders shall meet each other and arbitrate their differences in open forum. This is the open sesame, the door through which leadership reaches the conscience and confidence of the people and the people transfer authority to their leaders. The open forum is the place where leaderships both inspirational and executive are tried and found worthy of trust or are found wanting. The open forum is the court of initial and final appraisal: For education, the collegium; for the arbitration

of rights, the jury; for the determination of questions of policy and social justice, the parliament or congress. Upon the effective use of the open forum depends the intelligence of the electorate and the certainty of popular control.

In the "social unrest," in the distrust shown by the citizenry of this country toward their leaders, we find an element of essential weakness—a present danger, since the great World War. The very process and necessity for war inhibits moral leadership which is inquisitorial or critical of the executive, because anything which might detract from loyalty cannot be reconciled with the national purpose. A larger principle of morality is at stake, and the life of the nation has been pledged in its defense. The morality of warfare is international. And after war is declared it is not a question of moral leadership but one of group conscience. The differences that lead to war are those of national standards of justice; differences in ideals; differences in what we call culture. A people cannot take time to settle differences that may arise between their executives and their moralists while executives are engaged in the strategy of warding off attack that has for its purpose to break down and destroy the bonds that hold its people in political union. The outstanding fact is that the one nation has developed ideals which, when pushed ex-territorially under executive leadership, are hostile to and destructive of the conscious ideals of a neighbor group.

Before one nation has come to the point of waging war against another, a majority of its people must have become so intolerant that they are ready to kill those, even their own nationals, if need be, who disagree with them. It takes time for a democratic nation to develop a war mind unless it is faced by danger of invasion. And when hostilities cease it takes a long time to readjust the thinking of individuals to the demand of teachers, preachers, artists, interpreters and writers for a right to be heard when questioning the acts of executives whose arbitrariness is justified only by a national necessity that no longer exists.

Even in a nation which has fully developed an open forum procedure for the arbitration of controversies, as a means whereby its educational, its moral and its inspirational leadership may be promptly reëstablished for purposes of inquiry,

criticism and discussion, and used effectively to bring its peace problems before the people—even then it is with difficulty that a spirit of toleration can be restored. But a country whose habit has been to permit its leaders to transact the public business behind closed doors in time of peace, must fare still worse. Under an irresponsible executive leadership intolerance and waste must continue until the administration becomes intolerable. It is at such times that irresponsible government becomes most dangerous.

This is our present situation as a nation. We have failed to use and develop the open forum method of arbitrating controversies. And with the result that we have deprived ourselves, as citizens, and our electorate of the means of acting intelligently in the use of the mechanism provided to enforce responsibility. There is also the corresponding result that leadership has not rested on confidence but on want of authority for fixed terms too often secured through political trickery, and alliances in party organization the management of which is still more distrusted, for those who are to be ousted. Lack of confidence and irresponsibility in management, in every form of organization for collective action, sabotage, waste and inefficiency follow. Not having the means of arbitrating controversies, leadership develops class consciousness. Class works against class, each following a leadership, critical, hostile, menacing, without the means of having their differences settled in the high court of public opinion, after a full determination of the facts and consideration of the issues involved.

Our constitutions amply provide for the open forum. But our leaders have drawn a curtain between themselves and the people. No leader can hope to have the confidence of those who are distrusted by him. We have been constantly broadening the electorate—making it more democratic. And while this process has been going on the veil of secrecy has been the more closely drawn around leadership. The results are: continuing boss-rule and increasing popular resentment; parties organized around irresponsible leadership and conducted as close corporations; irresponsible government—and growing discontent.

Strong men like Roosevelt have sought in vain to hold

leadership entrusted to them by popular election, without the open forum. Four times in our national history have proposals been advanced to make leadership visible and responsible, but without success: First by Washington and his cabinet; then in the time of Lincoln; again after the Hayes-Tilden controversy; and recently as a part of the propaganda for a national budget. It was Washington's interpretation of the meaning of the constitution, that the executive as leader should come openly before Congress to give an account of stewardship and explain plans for the future when asking for financial support. But, for fourteen years public business had been managed by committees and groups, the personnel of which found place in the new state-legislatures and the new Congress, and this leadership resented the request of the executive for audience, foreseeing that this would lead to the downfall of their own leadership. This was our first fundamental error. Utilizing a public opinion developed in opposition to an irresponsible executive, King George, this was turned to the support of the closed forum. And it was only a few years later that congressional leadership fell, the victim of popular distrust. In the contest between Jackson and John Quincy Adams the congressional caucus was supplanted by outside irresponsible party organizations. This has continued to dominate the electorate to the present. In Lincoln's time (1865) the proposal was made to bring the cabinet on the floor, but it received scant notice. In 1881 a bill was introduced and referred to a committee, whose report was dragged out of a dusty pigeonhole and made available to the public in 1913. The committee, after disposing of all the arguments used in opposition to the proposal to give members of the cabinet the privileges of the floor without a vote, concludes:

"This would enlighten the house, inform the country, and be just to the officer. It would substitute a legitimate for an illegitimate power. It would establish an open, official, honorable mode of exercising power instead of a secret unrecognized mode, liable to abuse, and therefore always subject to the suspicion that it has been abused."

President Taft, urging the need for responsible leadership, took the position that the constitution made ample provision. Speaking of the practice that had grown up, however, he said:

"So long as the method at present prescribed obtains, neither the congress nor the country can have laid before it a definite, understandable program of business, or of governmental work to be financed."

And the report transmitted by President Taft to congress, suggesting an executive budget as a means of locating responsibility, contains this statement:

"As an incident to such procedure it is thought that there must develop a system of official representation which will consistently support the administration program which is submitted. . . . The development of a budget system necessarily carries with it . . . a definite administration program and means for presenting it and defending it before the legislative branch of the government and the country."

The leadership in Congress is opposed to an open forum proceeding. This is made clear by the leaders of both parties evidenced by the speeches and public writings of Mr. Cannon, Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Shirley; it is evidenced by the treatment of bills recently brought before congress for a national budget. Every bill containing provisions to secure the privileges of the floor for those who are called on to give an account of official stewardship and submit plans for the future development of the public service, when asking for support, was either pigeonholed in the committees or was amended by striking out such provisions before being recommended by congressional leaders for passage.

Leadership in our State legislatures is also opposed to the open forum. In all of the States, measures for making the government responsible have been under consideration during the past six years. These measures have been introduced in response to popular demand for "visible and responsible" leadership. But in not a single one has the open forum method of securing "visibility" and restoring confidence in our leadership been established. The proposal which seems to carry with it the brightest hope for immediate acceptance is found in the twice enacted and twice vetoed bills in the Wisconsin legislature, the essence of which is the right of the legislature to force the resignation of heads of departments by a vote of "lack of confidence."

Because of the hold which irresponsible leadership has on the country and the evident advantage gained by those who control our irresponsible party organizations, made effective through the irresponsible standing committee system, almost no progress has been made in this country in the development of the processes of popular control since our constitutions were adopted. For effective procedures of popular control we must look to the institutional experience of other democracies than our own. Or to relate the problem which now confronts us—the need for a procedure whereby strong executive leadership, in service, may be made consistent with individual liberty and the constitutional rights of minorities—to relate this problem and its solution to our own experience, we must go back to the principle of the town-meeting, the meeting in the cabin of the *Mayflower,* the folk-mote, and so modify the rules of our representative bodies that those who are entrusted by the people with executive leadership will be required to appear from time to time and answer the inquiries, criticism and arguments of our independent educational, moral, inspirational leadership, in full sight and hearing of the whole people, the whole electorate, the committee of the whole house of the Congress or assembly chosen to sit as the court of first instance, in which all questions of social justice may be tried on evidence.

NECESSITY OF LEADERSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

By EMORY R. JOHNSON, Ph.D., Dean, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania.

The goal of society is human happiness and government is a means to an end. The first object of government is the protection of life and property; while the general aim of government is the establishment of conditions favorable to the gaining of a livelihood, to securing an education and to furthering the intellectual and material development of all individuals and all classes of society. The form of government is of secondary importance. In general that form is best which harmonizes most closely with the political and cultural development of the people governed, which is most in line with their traditions and which best expresses their ideals. Democracy, which, in its complete expression, is government by all the people, is preferable when the ends to be sought can be secured by that form of political organization, but it is a fact often overlooked by many earnest advocates of popular rights that there are many peoples yet incapable of making a success of democratic institutions. It is a mistake, indeed it is almost criminal, to force democracy upon such peoples.

In all democracies leadership is necessary. As a condition of government society must make up its mind as to what it shall seek to do, it must select its wisest and most trustworthy men to carry out the policies decided upon, and there must be men capable of passing intelligent judgment upon the actions of public servants. Without leaders a democracy would be incapable of organization, decision, action or progress.

Leadership becomes increasingly necessary the larger the territory and the more populous the country having democratic institutions. In the early life of New England government started with the town meeting, and the representative institutions of New England were based upon the simple and effective organization of small units of society. Local and

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State government developed surely and successfully under most favorable conditions. The problem confronting the people of colonial New England in making a success of democratic institutions was simple indeed compared with the present problem of governing a country of continental proportions, and containing more than one hundred million people, by means of democratic and representative institutions. If the success of the early democracies in America was due to the intelligent leadership of its public-spirited men, how much more is it necessary to-day that society should be led by men of wisdom and probity commanding the confidence of their fellow men.

Leadership in a democracy becomes more vitally necessary as society becomes more complicated. The problems of government increase in a geometrical ratio with the growth in the size of the country and with the increase in population, and more especially with the introduction of those agencies of transportation and communication which multiply a thousandfold the relations of men with each other.

An agricultural society, such as Thomas Jefferson pictured as ideal, simply organized politically and socially, each local community largely self-sufficient economically and having comparatively little intercourse with other communities, might readily be governed by democratic institutions. It was not difficult under such conditions for each community, or even for a commonwealth as large as a State, to find its mind and decide upon a course of action. Men could readily be selected to carry out the action decided upon. Conditions have changed since Jefferson's day. Large cities containing hundreds of thousands and even several millions of population have come into existence. Manufacturing, carried on in huge establishments with great aggregations of men, furnishes employment to a large percentage of the population. No community is economically self-sufficient. Commerce includes the exchange of practically all commodities required to satisfy human wants. The business activities of men and the intellectual life of mos individuals are not confined to single localities. Society has become the nation not the local community, and democracy must now be organized and must function for the people of a vast country instead of for a limited number of men and

women living in local communities but slightly concerned with each other.

Leadership has not only become more necessary to democracy but also much more difficult to maintain. The New England town meeting had no difficulty in selecting the man or men to be entrusted with the affairs of government. Men of capacity, of judgment and character could readily obtain leadership. How difficult is the present situation in the United States! Even in our cities the electorate has great difficulty in discovering the men who should be entrusted with the affairs of government. It is comparatively easy for men who should not become leaders to obtain positions of responsibility and trust. Voters do not know the men they are voting for, they can only judge of them by what is said in the press or by the impression that may result from the well-known methods of paid publicity. How to discover the best men and how to maintain them in leadership is for most American cities an unsolved problem.

The difficulties of selecting and maintaining in positions of trust and responsibility wise leaders are greater in State than municipal government, and are larger in the Federal government than in the States. Fortunately the Federal government is better organized than most of the States and the States have developed their institutions more completely than have the municipalities. Leadership in national affairs is more complete and more successful than in State government while the lack of leadership is most pronounced and most disastrous in city government. From this it is evident that the quality of leadership in a democracy must be related to the organization and ideals of government. Under some conditions leadership is discouraged, while under other conditions it is encouraged. This fact is reason for believing that it may be possible so to organize and manage democratic institutions as to cause the men who should be entrusted with leadership to come to the front. In other words, it is possible for democratic communities, commonwealths and countries to develop and discover men of capacity and to follow their leadership while it is also possible to permit conditions of government to develop that will cause the men who should be leaders to avoid political affairs and public activities. Possibly no more severe indict-

ment can be brought against government in the United States than that political conditions in most cities, and in many States, have discouraged the men of the highest character and the greatest ability from participating in public affairs.

During recent decades there has been an unmistakable decline in the quality of leadership in public affairs in the United States. Mr. James M. Beck, in his admirable address, published as the opening paper of this volume, has analyzed the causes and consequences of this lowering of the standards of leadership by public men in this country. The facts presented by Mr. Beck and those set forth by Lord Bryce in his book upon the American Commonwealth, from which Mr. Beck draws many of the ideas presented in his address, are undoubtedly accurate. They call for a searching inquiry into the remedies that may be adopted for the gradual improvement of the situation.

The remedy does not lie in substituting democratic for representative methods of government. Men of high character and attainment will not undertake the task of public leadership unless they are made the trusted representatives of the people that select them. The initiative, the referendum and the recall—devices designed to take power and responsibility away from public officials and from the representatives of the electorate—will not cure the ills of government in the United States. Democracies cannot legislate either in mass meeting or at the polls; much less can they administer government by the casting of ballots. Representative institutions are necessary, men must be selected to carry out policies that are known to meet with popular approval and when the representatives have been chosen they must be given authority commensurate with their responsibility.

Men will not assume responsibility unless they are entrusted with authority. When men are not trusted by the public, office will be sought by men who desire to attain their own selfish ends rather than to promote the public good. In order to make government efficient, in order to make it workable, men of ability and honesty must be selected for the task and they must be trusted. One reason why mediocre men are in the great majority in public offices to-day is doubtless to be found in the tendency of democracies to distrust public offi-

cials. There is presumably as high a percentage of men of ability and character in the population of the United States to-day as there ever has been, probably the percentage is higher, but men of parts turn to business pursuits rather than to leadership in public affairs. If they go into business they are trusted by their boards of directors and are able to accomplish large results. Success brings reputation and the esteem of their fellow men. If they go into public life they find themselves limited by devices tending to hamper them in their actions, by a distrust on the part of the public that limits their results, and at the end of their labors they are apt to find their reputation to have been lessened rather than enhanced.

Irresponsible power on the part of government officials is dangerous and should be avoided. Progress in government efficiency does not lie along the road of irresponsibility. Public officials must be subject to an intelligent, alert public sentiment. Such restraint is necessary, but it also may be equally helpful. Nothing affords greater inspiration to a public servant, nothing gives a greater spur to the ambition to become a leader of the public, than does an intelligent public sentiment, provided the public is appreciative of the efforts of those that serve the people. A public sentiment that is merely negatively critical and never positively appreciative will drive men from public life instead of drawing them into it.

There are methods of controlling men entrusted with responsibility in the affairs of government. These methods should receive careful consideration and should be assiduously developed both in legislation and in the administration of government. The methods of legislation should be so organized that every legislature will act by methods that are open and known to the public. The leaders of the majority should be required to defend their measures against the criticism of the minority, in order that reason and justice and wise action may be discovered in the full light of open discussion. The press can be extremely helpful, both by informing the public as to public measures and by participating honestly and intelligently in the discussion of public questions. Without doubt legislative methods and measures would be far better were the press seriously to discuss public questions instead of devoting such a large part of the printed pages of the daily and weekly pub-

lications to attacks upon men and to the partisan advocacy of measures.

In his instructive paper, printed in this volume, Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland emphasizes the importance of the coördination of the administrative and legislative branches of the government. Dr. Cleveland in various writings has expressed approval of the Canadian system of responsibility of the administrative branch to the majority of the Parliament. There is no doubt that the Canadian and English system of responsible executive government has great merit. Unfortunately under the constitution of the United States the heads of the executive departments of the government are responsible solely to the President. The Cabinet officers are not obliged, indeed they are not permitted, to defend their measures before the House of Representatives or the Senate. The Cabinet, being responsible only to the Executive, quite often fails to coöperate with the Congress and may even work in opposition to the legislative branch of the government. The means of bringing the executive and legislative parts of the Federal government into closer working relationship has often been urged and its advocacy should be continued. Not only in the Federal government, but in the States and in the municipalities, administration and legislation should be associated, and those entrusted with the execution of the laws should be made as responsible to public sentiment as are those who enact legislation. If this were brought about it would at least do something towards the development of effective leadership on the part of public servants.

The dangers that may result from giving representatives of the people large powers—the dangers which advocates of the referendum and recall are seeking to avert—may best be avoided by the businesslike organization of the machinery and methods of government. Legislation should start with a carefully worked out budget. The expenditure of public funds should be subjected to scientific methods of accounting. We should abandon the idea that public business differs in character from private business in that the accounts of the government need not balance. There is no moral restraint upon officials, whether public or private, equal to the balance sheet. Fortunately there is an awakening realization in numerous

cities, in some of the States, and in some branches of the Federal government, to the value and importance of businesslike methods of conducting public affairs and of subjecting public accounts to scientific accounting analysis.

Reforms in legislative methods, the coördination of the executive and law-making branches of the national, State and municipal governments, the consequent development of responsibility of the executive officials to public sentiment, these are only the first steps in bringing about more effective and definite leadership in the affairs of democratic government. In order to secure satisfactory and lasting results, the attitude of the public towards leaders and toward the government must make leadership in public affairs attractive to men of parts and of high character.

The assertion would be difficult to prove, and will be denied by many, that there has been a leveling downward instead of upward in the attitude of the public toward government and in the conduct of the affairs of state concurrently with the growth of democratization of the social and political institutions of the United States. Doubtless the gain resulting from the growth of democracy has been far greater than the loss; but this fact need not blind us to the ill consequences of a reduction in the average morale of those who aspire to leadership and of those who conduct public affairs.

Real, lasting and helpful democracy in government, in industry, in society, in all the relations of life is a goal towards which each successive generation should steadily press; but the world need not necessarily, nor may it justifiably, press blindly on toward the goal of complete democracy. There must be moderation in all things.

The minority of the Russian people, heedless of consequences, are tearing down all of the institutions of the past only to set up in their place forms of government and agencies of administration that must necessarily prove but temporary because they are not in harmony with the traditions and temperament of the Russian people and are founded on ignorance, injustice and violence. This illustration is admittedly an extreme one with but slight application to the United States; but the events transpiring in Russia indicate the possibility of leveling society downward when leadership is acquired by

ignorant, unprincipled men instead of being held by intelligent and honest servants of the public. Russia cannot hope to organize politically or socially until new leaders arise and are given the support of the majority of the people.

The truest friends of democracy in this country are those who are striving to develop representative government. The basis of government is the will of the whole people. If that will is informed and is exercised intelligently, the government will be wise, if the will of the people is exercised through responsible and high-minded leaders, commanding the confidence of the people and possessing the necessary authority to conduct the affairs of government, political action will be efficient and progressively beneficent. Leadership on the part of those most capable of leading should be encouraged by public sentiment. The aim of lovers of democracy should be to develop the conception on the part of the entire people that public officials are trustees of the people selected by them to carry out their will and made to feel that they will be given an unrestricted opportunity to serve the public effectively, that they will be held accountable for results, and will be rewarded with public esteem in proportion to their devotion to the interests of the people.

COMMUNICATION

TWO IMPORTANT NATIONAL PROBLEMS

By VAN. H. MANNING, Director United States Bureau of Mines

The year following the closing of the war has been filled with problems of the mightiest importance to this country and the entire world, and not the least of them have come to the mining industry; therefore their immediate interest to the Bureau of Mines.

I may say that among these national perplexities that followed in the wake of the world war, at least two of them ought to be given grave study by the members of the National Institute of Social Sciences as being questions of transcendent importance at this time.

I refer first of all to the coal strike that gripped the country at the beginning of the winter and the disclosures that followed. This, as you undoubtedly know, showed the dire need for the stabilization of the coal industry, and called forth the comment from Herbert C. Hoover that the coal industry is the worst functioning big industry of the country. The task briefly, as you know, is to create a greater demand for coal in the summer time, in order to keep a steady flow from the mines throughout the entire year.

It is especially significant to me that these perplexing problems have been taken up by the mining engineers of the country and that even before this statement is printed that substantial improvement in the coal mining industry may have taken place. No such earnest thought has ever before been applied to this problem by such an intelligent body of men, and great good is bound to result. It took the vicious coal strike to bring this problem to the attention of the people.

The other question of great moment that has come before the Bureau of Mines is the fact that the domestic production of petroleum is not keeping pace with the domestic demand, and that in the near future this country will have to look

to foreign lands for a part of its production. Our best engineering talent warns us of the imminence of a decreased production by our oil wells, although more oil is needed; and the only practical source whence this increasing demand can be supplied for some time to come will be the foreign fields. Other nations have given thought to the future and, in recent years, have shown a tendency to adopt strong nationalistic policies regarding their petroleum resources, policies that hinder or prevent the exploitation of these resources by other nationals. In consequence, we find that, facing a probable shortage of the domestic supply, our nationals are excluded from foreign fields; and this in spite of the fact that foreign nationals have been permitted to enter into and exploit our own oil resources on an equality with American citizens and without hindrance or restrictions. This country has supplied the larger part of the petroleum consumed by the world and yet, with a failing supply imminent, it finds that those countries that have been drawing upon our resources to supply their needs are showing a tendency to exclude us from their resources. In this way we shall be transferred from a position of dominance to one of dependence; and only by sufferance of those countries that are now seeking financial or political control of petroleum supplies, shall we be able to obtain the oil we will need.

A review of the foreign situation discloses the fact that, whereas other nationals can enter our oil fields, acquire properties, and work these properties on an equality with ourselves, our nationals are not receiving reciprocal privileges from many foreign governments now controlling the most important oil regions in the world, and thus in time we are likely to be largely dependent upon these countries for our domestic needs. Morever, conditions in the Latin American countries are not so satisfactory as they might be.

In regard to individual Americans, it seems to me that it is the duty of all to interest themselves in this situation and to urge such rights and necessary steps as would best relieve it.

I may also urge opportunities and national importance of American concerns entering foreign oil fields. Evidently this country is going to need foreign sources of supply, and

it will be to its great advantage to obtain this through its own national spirit. Heretofore American methods, American machinery, American brains have been employed by foreign capital to develop foreign resources. It will be more desirable if our brains and abilities are employed under our own national spirit. It is desirable that every engineer realize, before accepting employment with any foreign corporations competing against ourselves, just what this means.

ANNUAL DINNER

The annual dinner of the Institute, followed by an address, "Some Problems of Democracy," which was delivered by Harry Pratt Judson, LL.D., president of the University of Chicago, and the awarding of medals, was held on the evening of April 22, 1920, at the Hotel Astor, New York City. The president, Emory R. Johnson, dean of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, presided.

Gold medals were awarded to Alexis Carrel, M.D., Sc.D.; Wilfred T. Grenfell, M.D., and Harry Pratt Judson, LL.D.

Presentation medals were awarded to Ernest P. Bicknell, LL.D., Professor Henry W. Farnam, Homer L. Ferguson, Miss Ann Goodrich, Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Miss Eleanor McMain and Alfred T. White.

OPENING REMARKS BY DR. EMORY R. JOHNSON

Members of the National Institute of Social Sciences and Guests: Doubtless you have been asked, as I have been, what the National Institute of Social Sciences is, and what it does. It is not an organization that figures largely in the public press. Its influence is exerted quietly, but we hope effectively, and in the right direction.

First of all, the National Institute of Social Sciences is a body of men and women, about one thousand in number, and each member is a member because he or she has rendered some worthy service to the public, or to humanity, or has achieved success in some field of scientific endeavor. We intend that membership in the Institute shall always be a recognition of solid service rendered.

The Institute, organized in 1912 through the devoted labors of Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, has grown, I think, in a way that must have been gratifying to Dr. Curtis. For the first time, Dr. Curtis is unable to be with us. He has been a sick man, a very sick man, for several months, and our sympathies go

out to him, and to his devoted wife. His absence is missed more than I can adequately express. What he sought to accomplish, and what the purpose of his collaborator, Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, was, is stated in part on the first page of our menu:

"The purpose of the Institute is to bring together men and women who represent the highest aims and standards of American life and who have served in some substantial way the larger interests of the country."

To give effect to that purpose, the Institute has an annual meeting, usually held on the third Friday of January. This year, the annual meeting in January, fortunately for us, was in the beautiful home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Pomeroy Davison. A memorable address was made upon that occasion by the Honorable James M. Beck, upon the subject of "Leadership in a Democracy." That address was so significant that it suggested to the officers of the Institute the appropriate topic for this evening's discussion.

The proceedings of the Institute, that is, the address made, or papers presented, at the annual meeting, the addresses and proceedings of the annual dinner, a statement of the activities of the members, and certain additional literary products of the members of the Institute, are published annually in the Journal. A copy of Volume VI. will reach you some time during this coming summer.

The National Institute is the present expression of the oldest social science organization in the United States. The American Social Science Association, which was established in the fifties, by an earnest group of leaders of American opinion, in order that there might be a definite expression of public opinion authoritatively presented, had a continuous activity for a full generation. Then special societies developed, like the American Economic Society, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and so on, and the activity of the American Social Science Association became less and less, until the annual meetings were no longer held. That association, however, had secured a Federal charter, which enabled the parent society to establish departments, institutes, or academies, and this Institute is functioning under the charter of the American Social Science Associa-

tion. The Institute carries on to-day, in accordance with the needs of the present time, the work of the parent society.

A statement of our aims, very general and very brief, may be in order on this occasion: The officers of the Institute have deemed it wise so to develop the activities of the National Institute of Social Sciences, that it shall be, on the whole, a conservative organization. It was felt by the officers that there was no need for a radical society that would break new paths in social theory, but that there was a real necessity for an organization whose publications should be essentially and candidly sane. I am not quite disposed to use the word "conservative," because that overstates the thought. I do not intend, nor do I wish, to give the impression that the National Institute of Social Sciences is not open to the impress of new ideas. But its management has been careful not to give public expression to new ideas until they have been carefully weighed, and until a reasoned opinion can be obtained upon public questions of vital moment.

The activity of the Institute that is probably best known is that connected with the recognition, through the awarding and conferring of medals, of the humanitarian and patriotic services of devoted men and women. Each year, medals, usually about ten in number, are conferred at the Annual Dinner. The medals are awarded by the Council of the Institute, upon the recommendation of its Medal Committee, and the purpose of the committee, and of the council, has been to make the medals of the Institute a significant recognition of the most distinguished services rendered by the patriotic and devoted men and women of this country. The need of such recognition of services was felt to exist in this country, because the Government of the United States, unlike the governments of most other countries, is unable to recognize the services of such people by the appropriate award of honors.

For the speaker of this evening, we have a distinguished educator and public servant. In presenting him I shall, for reasons that will appear later, make only a very brief statement. President Judson, in building up the great University of Chicago, has established his leadership among the educators of this country. By his services for the United States Government, and for the British Government during the war, he has

put not only his own country, but other countries, under a lasting debt of gratitude to him.

Without further remarks, I shall present to you President Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago, who will address us upon "Some Problems of Democracy."

[President Judson's address is printed as one of the principal papers of this volume, on pages 27-36.]

THE MEDAL TO HARRY PRATT JUDSON, LL.D.

PRESENTATION SPEECH BY OSCAR S. STRAUS, LL.D.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is a privilege to be the spokesman of the Society in awarding this medal.

Other governments, as you have said, Mr. President, bestow recognitions to faithful servants by awarding decorations. Such decorations originally were supposed to be an expression, a sign and emblem of the inward qualities of the person to whom they were awarded. I say that was the original significance, but many receive decorations, ornamental as they are, which hardly betoken those original qualities.

The purpose of the Institute of Social Sciences was to show by its award the appreciation of the public at large for eminent public services rendered, and the Institute has been very careful in the selection of those on whom its medals have been bestowed. It seldom has been a higher privilege than that which we have the pleasure of witnessing to-night, of bestowing the gold medal of the Society upon Dr. Judson, who has, in his quiet, unostentatious, efficient, and effective manner served the public in so many different ways.

He is distinguished as an author, an historian, distinguished as one of our foremost educators, distinguished for services rendered in promoting the cause of scientific and medical education, not only in our country, but also abroad. In 1918 he went as the delegate of the Near East Relief Commission, to organize relief in far-off Persia—the land of the thousand and one nights, of romance, and of history. There was danger, a great danger, that the Mohammedan world would unite under the guidance of Germany, against the Allies. Dr. Judson, international student and scholar that he is, went to Persia

and performed most important diplomatic work in bringing about a better understanding of the purposes and objects of the Allies in conducting the war. He was helpful in preventing the union of the Mohammedans and in instructing the Persians how to organize relief for the amelioration of the suffering and starving in that country. All his work, as an author, as an international authority, as one of the foremost leaders in education, has been for the public good, and it is a high privilege for this Institute to recognize services of that kind. We honor ourselves in bestowing this tangible recognition of our appreciation. It is not only the person to whom we give the medal that we honor. By this means we aim to encourage others to follow the example this noble and patriotic representative of American scholarship has rendered to the people of this country.

I am sure if it were in his power, he would have made democracy safe for the world, by leading our country to coöperate with the nations of the world under the provisions of the League of Nations, so that the victory in war which our country did so much to win would and could be translated for the future peace and welfare of the world. The Fathers of the Republic had in mind the ideal and the example of the United States—in the language of Charles Sumner, "would be more puissant than Army or Navy, for the conquest of the world."

Dr. Judson, the National Institute of Social Sciences honors itself by placing in your hands its highest recognition, the gold medal, to emphasize the appreciation and esteem of the people of this country for you and for your splendid services.

REPLY OF HARRY PRATT JUDSON, LL.D.

Mr. President, I feel profoundly honored in being awarded this medal, not as a schoolboy who receives a reward for not being tardy, but as the appreciation of an honored body of my colleagues of the United States. I shall cherish it always, feeling, of course, that it must be taken *cum grano salis,* if that language is permissible, sir. And yet it is a mere appreciation of the fact that all are working together, each

doing his little toward the common good of humanity. Of course, for my part, I wish that our country might have joined the League of Nations—I don't care if it were with reservations—as long as our delegates sat with those of other nations around a table trying to make mankind safer.

THE MEDAL TO ALEXIS CARREL, M.D., SC.D.

PRESENTATION SPEECH BY GEORGE E. BREWER, M.D.

Mr. President, you have assigned to me an agreeable duty, and that is to present to you for the gold medal my friend and colleague, Dr. Alexis Carrel.

Dr. Carrel received his medical degree from the University of Lyons in 1900. He was immediately appointed prosector in anatomy, and instructor of clinical surgery in that university. He remained there for two years. He then came to America, where the first position he held was in the Department of Physiology in the University of Chicago. His brilliant experimental work in that institution immediately brought him recognition, scientific recognition, from all parts of the country, and he was then appointed to a position in the newly-formed Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. It was in that institution that he began his career as an experimental surgeon. He recognized that there were many problems yet to be solved in surgical technique, and he undertook perhaps the most difficult of all, and that was the problem of vascular surgery.

Now, you all know that the technique of a surgeon is something which is developed slowly. The ability to repair an injury, the ability to perform an extraordinarily difficult operation, the ability to carry through a patient seriously infected with some grave malady by means of operative procedure, is something that has to be gained by large experience. There was one department of surgery that baffled all the profession, and that was the surgery of the vascular system, the surgery of the blood vessels, the surgery of the arteries, and the veins. Dr. Carrel began his work by experimental researches on how best to perform these most delicate operations. He devoted himself to this work for years. It would be impossible for me to describe to you the difficulties

under which he worked in the early days, because, at best, the surgery of an injured blood vessel is one of the most delicate procedures which can possibly be undertaken. It was my privilege in the early days to see him at work in his laboratory on careful animal experiments, where arteries were wounded, and repaired in a manner that had never been known of or dreamt of before, repaired by means of sutures of the most delicate silk, so delicate that you could hardly see them. In fact, during his operations, he was obliged to place beneath the operative field a cloth of black, so that the very fine delicate white silk sutures could be seen and appreciated. It was done by the most wonderful needles that had ever been made. In this way, he was able to do what had never been done before. He could suture vessels that had been injured, even ones that had been completely divided; he could suture them together, so that function would be completely restored. From that work, he went on experimenting. He was able to take an organ from one side of the body—as a kidney, for instance—sever it from the body and all its connections, transplant it in another portion, uniting the blood vessels, the arteries, the veins, the excretory ducts, and have a functionating organ.

This was all very wonderful, but what was its practical value? The practical value was that he established a method of technique in handling blood vessels which enabled him and others to save hundreds, and I may say thousands, of lives. The very fact of his work being taken up on the great question of transfusion of blood, direct transfusion of blood, from one person to another in conditions of severe shock revolutionized the procedure. It made possible not only the direct method of transfusion from vessel to vessel, but perfected other methods, which had been very generally used in the past.

I wish I had the time to speak of the various other problems which he undertook, and the wonderful progress made. But I am going to speak of another, and his greatest, service to mankind, and that is the development of the Carrel-Dakin treatment of infections, which was brought out during the war. As soon as France entered the war, Dr. Carrel volunteered, and went back to his native country. He recognized, as all people recognized, that of all the factors which result

in death, prolonged invalidism, temporary or permanent disability of soldiers wounded in battle, the greatest was infection. It was not so much the injury of the muscle, it was not so much the destruction which was wrought by the shell fragments, but it was the deadly virulence of the infection which followed. And perhaps at no time in the history of the world have people witnessed such havoc as was wrought by the uncontrolled virulence of the infections which followed battle casualties in the early stages of the war.

It was then that Dr. Carrel began a series of experiments in Paris, to find some antiseptic agent, some method that could be applied to these super-virulent infections, in a way by which they could be controlled. His first step, undertaken with his friend and associate, Dr. Dakin, was to find a fluid which would have absolute bactericidal power; that is, it would cause the death of the bacterial agents which entered the wound at the time of the injury. That fluid must always be non-irritative, one which can be used for long periods at a time. After experimentations of many months, he and his friend, Dr. Dakin, were able to discover, and manufacture, a fluid which could be used in that way, and which possessed all of these characteristics. It was then that Dr. Carrel was sent to an advanced hospital at Compèigne. He opened this hospital, and asked for all the most desperate cases of infection, that he might prove that this new method would be of value. And I may say to you to-night—and I say it with all honesty, and I believe it to be absolutely true—that that discovery, and the method which he developed at that time under those conditions, has completely revolutionized surgery. I believe it is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, contribution to military surgery which has ever been achieved.

Let me give you just an example: It was my privilege in 1915 to serve in a French hospital, during the first part of the war. It was my privilege at the same time to visit a large number of other military hospitals, and what did we see? We saw the hospitals crowded to overflowing with cases of every type of casualty. But the fact that they were there with these various severe types of injury was not all. The distressing thing was that in almost every instance, there was added this virulent poisonous infection. Nothing that we had been able

to do at that time seemed to control the types of infection which we encountered; nothing which had ever been invented, or suggested, did anything in the way of controlling the infection. The death rate was enormous. The disability rate which followed even the tardy recoveries was something which it would be almost impossible to convey to you to-night. The number of men whom we were able to restore to active duty, to go back to military service, was exceedingly small. It was just at that time that Dr. Carrel began his great work at the front. Two years and a half later, it was my privilege again to visit France, this time with an American hospital unit, and as I went through various hospitals in the first few weeks of my visit, I saw an entirely different picture. I saw the same class of injuries, the same types of cases that were admitted to the hospitals that I saw in 1915, but instead of having that deadly infection, there were many recoveries, a large number of convalescents, and the death rate had been cut in two. The average time in which patients recovered, who were treated by this method, when fully carried out, with the technique Dr. Carrel suggested, was enormously shortened.

It is true, of course, that after our entering the war, we were able to take advantage of what had been learned in the past, particularly by those splendid French, Italian, British, and Belgian surgeons; and it is a source of great gratification that in one of our most advanced hospitals in the early stage of the war, in the beginning of 1918, nearly 85 per cent of the cases of deadly infection which were treated by the Carrel-Dakin method, demonstrated an absolute sterilization of the wound, and a subsequent union, with what we call "secondary suture," tremendously shortening the duration of treatment, and avoiding the possibility of death from sepsis. I could dwell for an hour on this topic, and tell you of hundreds of thousands of instances where this method was properly used, which gave identical results.

When I first went over in 1917, I went to a large number of hospitals and I asked this question: "What about the Carrel-Dakin method?" They would say: "Well, I think it is very good, but there are other things that are just as good." It only required a visit to the wards of these hospitals to show why they made that conservative statement—because the di-

rections which Dr. Carrel had laid down were not followed. This method requires a technique which must be scrupulously accurate in every detail. If it is not thus carried out, the results, of course, do not show the same improvement, or the same success. But there were a number of large hospitals—and particularly the American hospitals, and some of the British and French—where this method was carried out, and when I asked the question there, they said, "It has revolutionized surgery."

I take pleasure in proposing, and it is fitting, that this Association—which is the only great national association in this country to reward merit, and to give some recognition of achievement to those who have added so much to the sum total of human happiness in the world, and to the relief of suffering—should award to Dr. Carrel the highest honor that can be awarded; and I, therefore, present him for the gold medal.

THE REPLY OF DR. CARREL

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I wish I were able to express what I feel, in receiving the beautiful medal of this Association. I am sorry that I am not a speaker, and cannot express adequately my thanks for it. As I listened to the very kind words of my friend, Dr. Brewer, I was thinking how comparatively small was my part in the work he described. Without the laboratories of the Rockefeller Institute, it would have been impossible to carry through the experiments upon which were based the different methods of which Dr. Brewer spoke. It is really because of the help which I found in this country that I was able to develop some of these things.

I was also reminded of how much help we received from the surgeons and nurses, who day after day during the war worked with us carrying out these techniques, often under very difficult conditions. I appreciate exceedingly the way in which this work is recognized, and I wish to express to all the members of this Institute my most profound appreciation.

THE MEDAL TO MISS ANN GOODRICH

PRESENTATION SPEECH BY MRS. HENRY POMEROY DAVISON

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: After war was declared, it was not only necessary to organize and develop an army of soldiers, but it was also necessary to organize and develop an army of nurses. Those who had the responsibility of selecting the proper person to organize and develop this army of nurses, naturally turned to the one who stood alone as best prepared to meet the situation, and Miss Ann Goodrich was the one woman in the United States who fulfilled all the requirements that were necessary to develop for this great army a training school for nurses. It needed not only a person who had had the technical training, but it needed one who had creative genius, who had great courage, who had great vision, who had a great understanding of human nature, who realized what suffering meant, and who had the courage to stand almost alone at that time, and to go forward and develop this great army of nurses, and also to develop training schools for the training of nurses.

Before the war, Miss Ann Goodrich had filled the position of the Superintendent of Nurses in four of the most important hospitals—the New York Hospital, the Post-Graduate, St. Luke's, and Bellevue. She became the inspector of the Training Schools for Nurses in New York State. She left this work to accept a professorship in the Department of Nursing and Health at Teachers' College. It is quite obvious that one who had filled all these positions so efficiently should be chosen at the time of the war to carry on this work.

During the war, she became the Inspector of the Nursing Service in the army hospitals, and by carrying on this work, she created and developed the Army School of Nursing. Since the war, she has become the director of the Nursing Service at Henry Street Settlement, where her creative genius has been afforded an unusual field. She has filled to distinction every office she has held, and is deeply beloved by all with whom she has come in contact. It seems to me that with this record, it is only fitting that this Institute should honor Miss Ann Goodrich by bestowing upon her its medal of honor. I

recommend her for these reasons, Mr. President, for the medal of the Institute.

THE REPLY OF MISS GOODRICH

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am profoundly appreciative of the privilege of being the recipient in behalf of my profession, of this medal; the more especially, as I conceive that this recognition of the social value of the service rendered by the nurse is a definite furtherance of the solution of at least some of the problems of democracy.

Our profession, it seems to me, is essentially in harmony with the progressive thought of the age, which as I see it, increasingly demands a practical application as expressed through the political, economic, and physical betterment of the race, of the theories advanced by the schools and universities and which are molding the thought of the country.

The nurse has become an essential figure in every health program, whether applied to the field of curative or preventive medicine. She is demanded in the destructive processes of war and for the constructive processes of peace. She is called by all classes of society, rich and poor, native or foreigner. Her entrance into the home is never an intrusion, for she comes in response to a felt need. The welcome she receives, the gratitude the service she renders evokes, her numerical strength and her contacts with the community mounting into millions, make her a messenger to the people whose opportunity it would be difficult, if indeed possible, to exceed. But this opportunity to be effectively used demands the most comprehensive and thorough preparation possible.

I am sure I am voicing the feeling of Adelaide Nutting, director of the Department of Nursing and Health, Columbia University, who has so notably advanced the standards of nursing education; of Lillian Wald, whose great social message has been borne to Russia, France and China, not only through her book but through the members of her staff who have caught the vision, and indeed of many of my colleagues when I express our gratitude for the recognition of this Society of the nursing profession through the bestowal of this medal, as immeasurably supporting us in our efforts to bring

to the nurse all that science, education and experience have to offer, that through the service she renders she may complete the current of human understanding in this and other countries and thereby achieve something even better than 100 per cent Americanism.

THE MEDAL TO PROFESSOR HENRY W. FARNAM

PRESENTATION SPEECH BY DR. EMORY R. JOHNSON

Eighteen years ago three men met in New York—Colonel Carroll D. Wright, then United States Commissioner of Labor, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; Professor John Bates Clark, then of Columbia University, and Professor Henry W. Farnam. These three men had come together to consider whether it might not be possible to organize American economists in such a way as to bring about the creation of an economic history of the United States. It was recognized that there was need for such a work, and it was also realized that organized effort would be necessary to produce the work.

A few months later, Colonel Wright, Professor Farnam and five other gentlemen—Professor Clark, in the meantime, having necessarily withdrawn from the enterprise—met in the old Astor House, down at Twenty-third Street and Fifth Avenue, and there laid definite plans for the preparation of an economic history of the United States, or, as it was later more modestly called, Contributions to the Economic History of the United States. The work was organized in twelve departments, each department in charge of a collaborator. During the early years of the work, Colonel Wright was chairman of the Board of Collaborators, and Professor Farnam was secretary. When the work had only well begun, Colonel Wright died, but the board continued on, fortunately, under the chairmanship and leadership of Professor Farnam.

The work is not yet all completed. Certain parts have been finished. But what has been accomplished in the work—and as an economist, I place a very high value upon the work as a whole, and sincerely hope that it may be fully completed—has been accomplished as a result of the untiring labors and the generosity of Professor Farnam. It was thought by the

Council of the National Institute that this devoted service to economic science and to history ought to be appropriately recognized, and it is my great privilege to be able to-night to confer upon Professor Farnam the National Institute's medal, in recognition of his contribution to American scholarship.

THE REPLY OF PROFESSOR FARNAM

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: To the economist, as to the historian, the one supreme virtue is truth, and I should not be loyal to that virtue, I should be deceiving myself, and deceiving you, if I for a moment thought that you had conferred this honor upon me for any individual merit of my own. I therefore accept it, not for myself as much as for those whose work has been much more important than mine.

I accept it on behalf of Dr. Victor S. Clark, whose History of American Manufacturers is so admirable. I accept it on behalf of Dr. Meyer and his History of Transportation. I accept it on behalf of Professor Commons, and the able corps of pupils who were his collaborators in preparing the History of Labor. I accept it on behalf of Professor Johnson and his assistants, Professor Van Metre, Professor Huebner and Professor Hanchett, whose admirable History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce is known to all students. I also accept it in memory of the late Colonel Carroll D. Wright, who did so much to organize our work. Nor can I forget the many who have made important contributions, both in and out of our group, towards the economic history of the United States. In short the medal is given, as I understand it, to a cause rather than to an individual, and on behalf of that cause, I express my sincere and hearty thanks.

My conception of American economic history is that our country is the great economic laboratory of the world and its economic history is simply the record of the experiments which have been carried out in that laboratory. In a sense, this is true of the economic and social history of other countries. But there are two things which especially distinguish our own country from all others. One is that it was settled by civilized people, who built their homes on what was practically new land. The whole country was there before them, only in-

habited by a few Indians. They had nothing of the past to hamper them, no feudalism, no cast iron institutions which they had inherited. They were free, therefore, to work out their own problems according to their needs.

An equally important feature was this: Each colony, and afterwards each state, has been in its economic policy practically self-determined. Now, what does that mean? It means that each one of these colonies and states is a little laboratory by itself, and now that we have forty-eight states, it means that we have forty-eight social and economic laboratories, each carrying on its own experiments, but all under a general head, each eagerly watching to see what the other forty-seven are doing, and ready to profit by their experiences.

Let me give an example or two: In the beginning there was an abundance of land, but very few people. The problem was, how should the land be settled? New England established the system of township settlement, with small holdings. In the New Netherlands, they introduced the Patroon System with its large estates; in Maryland, they tried the English manor. In Virginia, they resorted to big plantations worked by slaves. In Carolina, they actually introduced a feudal system, at least on paper.

In the course of time, all of these systems were eliminated as not suited to the American environment except the New England system, and the Southern plantation system. When the Colonies united in a Commonwealth, endowed with a vast unoccupied territory, and when it became necessary, therefore, to block out a land policy for the United States of America, these two systems competed, and the New England system won out. It was through necessary trials that the typical land system of the United States became the township system, developing later into the Homestead system.

Take as another example of laboratory work our labor policy: In the beginning, labor was very scarce. Every effort was made to get labor into the country. Some labor was free; some labor was indentured; some labor was enslaved. The contest between free and slave labor forms the most tragic, and also the most impressive, feature of our whole economic history. It led to civil war, a very wasteful, and

terrible way of settling an economic question. But it was settled by the Civil War in favor of free labor.

Now through all this history there are certain things which stand out, I think, very clearly. While there may be differences of opinion on other topics, one thing is evident, and that is that from the very beginning, we have tried to regulate our economic development, and there has always been a background of law, dealing in the main, or at least very largely, with economic problems. Our growth has not been haphazard, or individualistic. Another thing equally prominent is that we have always been ready to make changes, when changes were needed. In other words, we have had a constant development from one stage to another, a constant series of try-outs, to see which system was the best. We have had in many respects, I am convinced, too much law. Not a few of our laws have been absolutely futile. In fact, we have had so much law that we have made laws to prevent the making of laws. We say to some of our Legislatures, you can legislate, but you must not do it more than once in two years; in some other states, not more than once in four years. But it is a fact that we have always tried in some way or other to form a social and economic policy.

Now, all these changes produce more or less conflict. There is no doubt about that. Sometimes the conflict is industrial and brings strikes and boycotts. Sometimes it takes a political form, and becomes an issue in elections. This was true, for example, of the slavery question for more than a half century; it was true of the greenback question, of the bank question, and of others. And unfortunately, once that conflict took on a military form, and led to fratricidal civil war.

We are now going through a period of contest and controversy, and just at the time when it seems most important that reconstruction should not be hampered, and that all of our wonderful resources, both of nature and of mind, our splendid organizing talent, and our splendid natural gifts, should be working up to their fullest power, just at this time we seem to be hampered by the friction of controversy. Is there any way out of it?

I believe that the key to the solution of these questions,

the one means to prevent, or, at least, to minimize friction and waste, is to have a better knowledge of our own past. If people generally were better informed as to what we have done in the past, we should have fewer appeals to a false patriotism, appeals which, unfortunately, have sometimes been a mere mask for industrial toryism. On the other hand, I think that we should also have less fear of Socialism, Bolshevism, and whatever other "ism" happens to be in the public mind at a given time. This fear has made some very excellent and very patriotic people go so far as to say that we should suppress discussion. Such people, I think, do not realize the strength of the case for America. If we are afraid of discussion, we either don't believe in our own case, or we have no case. But a deeper study of our economic history will show that we need but follow the lessons of our own experience to secure all the blessings that Socialism, or Communism, promises, but never confers.

Thank you one and all.

President Johnson: The gold medal of the Institute was awarded to Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell, in recognition of his wonderful work for the people of Labrador. I have a very interesting letter from Dr. Grenfell, which I shall not read, because it always seems to me that the reading of letters at a dinner is suggestive of obituaries. Dr. Grenfell explained in his letter that he some months ago made an engagement to speak in New England, and that if he were to be present to-night, he would have to break two or three very important engagements, and his conscience would not permit him to do so.

The medal of the Institute has been awarded to Dr. Ernest P. Bicknell, because of his great services for the Red Cross; to Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, who has built up a great shipbuilding plant in this country, and has, nevertheless, given much of his time and energy to developing a great national organization, known as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; to the Honorable Franklin K. Lane, in recognition of his long and distinguished public services; to Mr. Alfred T. White, of Brooklyn, who, for the period of an ordinary lifetime, has labored, and contributed of his funds, to make the conditions of life pleasanter in his home city. And

lastly—and I announce it with much satisfaction—the Council has awarded the medal of the Institute to Miss Eleanor McMain, of New Orleans. I have never met Miss McMain. I am told that she is a frail woman, who has given all of her strength, and most of her life to helping the blind. Such service could not fail to appeal to the Council as being worthy of the Institute's recognition.

I wish, as presiding officer, to express my thanks to those who have spoken, especially to President Judson, for his admirable address, also to all the rest who have spoken, and may I particularly mention Mrs. Davison, upon whom I called for service as late as five o'clock this afternoon, to take the place of Miss Gildersleeve, who would have been here to speak if her physician had permitted? You didn't suspect that Mrs. Davison had not devoted several days to preparing her excellent address.

And now I wish you an enjoyable year until we meet again at the next Annual Dinner.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The seventh Annual Meeting of the National Institute of Social Sciences was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Pomeroy Davison, 690 Park Avenue, New York City, January 23, 1920, at 8:30 o'clock, President Emory R. Johnson presiding.

Mr. Davison, treasurer of the National Institute, read the treasurer's report, showing a balance of $5,940.27, consisting mainly of funds obtained as life membership dues.

In the absence of Miss Lillie Hamilton French, secretary of the Liberty Service Medal Committee for 1919, Dr. Johnson read the report of the committee. He stated that the Liberty Service Medal Committee had had four meetings during the year beginning January 29, 1919, and had awarded eighteen Liberty Service Medals and twenty Patriotic Service Medals. The method of procedure had been to prepare a list of the qualifications for each nominee proposed and to send copies of this list to each member of the committee a week before a meeting. Members of the committee unable to attend sent their votes by letter.

MEDALS AWARDED UPON NOMINATION OF THE STATE COMMITTEES, 1919-1920

COLORADO	TYSON S. DINES, Chairman
Liberty Service Medal .	LIVINGSTON FARRAND, LL.D.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA . .	HARRY A. GARFIELD, LL.D., Chairman
Patriotic Service Medal	D. J. CALLAHAN
	MISS CLARA D. NOYES
	JOHN VAN SCHAICK, D.D.
ILLINOIS	FRANKLIN H. MARTIN, M.D., Chairman
Liberty Service Medal .	HON. JULIAN W. MACK
	CHARLES PIEZ
Patriotic Service Medal	MRS. PHILIP SCHUYLER DOANE

KENTUCKY	MRS. GEORGE C. AVERY, Chairman
Liberty Service Medal .	EDWARD W. HINES
Patriotic Service Medal	WILLIAM D. COCHRAN
	FREDERIC M. SACKETT
LOUISIANA	A. L. METZ, M.D., Chairman
Liberty Service Medal .	HON. JOHN M. PARKER
Patriotic Service Medal	P. H. SAUNDERS
	CHARLES WEINBERGER
MARYLAND	HON. THEODORE MARBURG, Chairman
Liberty Service Medal .	EDWIN G. BAETJER
	DANIEL WILLARD
Patriotic Service Medal	WILLIAM F. COCHRAN
	HON. PHILLIPS LEE GOLDSBOROUGH
NEW JERSEY	MISS ALICE LAKEY, Chairman
Liberty Service Medal .	CHARLES L. PACK, LL.D.
	MRS. H. OTTO WITTPENN
Patriotic Service Medal	MISS BLANCHE P. DURGIN
	MRS. CHARLES D. FREEMAN
	MRS. ROBERT A. FRANKS
VIRGINIA	EDWIN A. ALDERMAN, LL.D., Chairman
Patriotic Service Medal	MRS. E. A. ALDERMAN
WISCONSIN, ...	HON. JAMES G. JENKINS, Chairman
Liberty Service Medal	FREDERICK VOGEL, JR.
	MAGNUS SWENSON

The President read the report of the Committee for the Nomination of Officers for 1920, submitted by William E. Lingelbach, Ph.D., chairman. On motion of William E. Curtis, LL.D., the secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the nominees as read. Motion seconded and carried. The officers elected for the ensuing year were:

President

EMORY R. JOHNSON

Honorary President

WILLIAM H. TAFT

Vice-Presidents

MRS. GEORGE C. AVERY
HON. SIMEON E. BALDWIN
HON. JAMES M. BECK
MABEL T. BOARDMAN, LL.D.
MARSTON T. BOGERT, LL.D.
HON. WILLIAM H. CROCKER
H. HOLBROOK CURTIS, M.D.
HON. WILLIAM E. CURTIS
CHAS. B. DAVENPORT, PH.D.
MRS. HENRY POMEROY DAVISON
MRS. HENRY F. DIMOCK
TYSON S. DINES, ESQ.
CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D.
JOHN H. FINLEY, LL.D.
PROF. IRVING FISHER
REAR-ADMIRAL B. A. FISKE
MISS LILLIE HAMILTON FRENCH
HARRY A. GARFIELD, LL.D.
VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE, LL.D.
S. S. GOLDWATER, M.D.
FRANK J. GOODNOW, LL.D.
MAJ.-GEN. WM. C. GORGAS
HON. MADISON GRANT
MRS. E. H. HARRIMAN
MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN
HON. MYRON T. HERRICK
HON. DAVID JAYNE HILL
MRS. RIPLEY HITCHCOCK
HON. HERBERT C. HOOVER
ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, LITT.D.
MRS. H. HARTLEY JENKINS
HON. JAMES G. JENKINS
HARRY PRATT JUDSON, LL.D

MRS. ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY
A. L. METZ, M.D.
MRS. FREDERICK NATHAN
HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN, LL.D.
CORNELIA B. SAGE QUINTON, LITT.D.
HON. ELIHU ROOT
LEO S. ROWE, LL.D.
HERBERT L. SATTERLEE, PH.D.
CHARLES M. SCHWAB, ESQ.
MRS. C. LORILLARD SPENCER
HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS
TALCOTT WILLIAMS

Treasurer

HENRY POMEROY DAVISON, LL.D.

Secretary

JESSE KNIGHT, ESQ.

REPORT

1919-1920

OF THE

LIBERTY MEDAL COMMITTEE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Incorporated by Act of Congress, January 28, 1899

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Organized in 1912 under the same charter

REPORT

1919-1920

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LIBERTY MEDAL COMMITTEE

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THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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REPORT OF THE LIBERTY MEDAL COMMITTEE

A report of the Liberty Medal Committee was published in April, 1918. The following report includes the citations to the recipients of Liberty Service and Patriotic Medals and their replies:

LIBERTY SERVICE MEDALS

February 18, 1919.

To EDWARD W. HINES.

It is with a keen sense of appreciation for your patriotic service that the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences confer upon you their Liberty Service Medal.

With the first intimations of danger to your country, you laid aside everything of moment to yourself and consecrated brilliant abilities to the organization of a Council of Defense, traveling even to sparsely inhabited districts to quicken the public conscience, sparing yourself in nothing that could add to the strength of the Nation. To this service you brought rare mental equipments, and you infused into that service a personal and compelling quality which has won the admiration of your State and commanded the homage of your fellow-workers.

In presenting you, Mr. Hines, with this medal, the Committee extends to you its appreciation and respect.

LILLIE HAMILTON FRENCH,
Secretary, Liberty Medal Committee.

Kentucky Council of Defense
Louisville, Ky.

SECRETARY, LIBERTY MEDAL COMMITTEE,
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

It is difficult for me to recognize myself in the pen picture drawn in your letter of February 18, 1919, informing me of the great honor conferred upon me by the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences, but

I assure the Committee that I greatly appreciate this honor and the artistic Liberty Service Medal conferred upon me.

While it is gratifying to know that the Liberty Medal Committee thinks that I am worthy of this recognition, yet realizing as I do how imperfect my work has been and that it is only by reason of the unselfish service and sacrifice of my fellow workers that I have been able to accomplish anything, I feel that in receiving the medal I am doing so, not for myself, but for all those who have so unselfishly and patriotically served with me.

With assurance to the Liberty Medal Committee of appreciation and respect, I am

Very sincerely yours,
EDWARD W. HINES.

February 28, 1919.

To THE HONORABLE JOHN M. PARKER.

As Food Administrator for Louisiana, when your country was confronted by serious problems you rendered inestimable service to the state.

To whatever demand was made upon you, you have been instant in response, and you have consecrated your abilities to the general good in a way that has proved you to be a man to be relied upon, under all conditions and in any circumstance.

New Orleans, La.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

Permit me to express to you and through you my appreciation for the Liberty Medal which I accept as a tribute to the work done by others under my direction in the State of Louisiana.

Cordially yours,
JOHN M. PARKER.

March 10, 1919.

To CHARLES L. PACK, LL.D.

While war was raging and our troops were being trained for foreign service, you were quick to perceive the gravity of food problems confronting our Nation.

Without waiting for funds from our Government, you, as president of the National War Garden Commission, voluntarily provided seed, fertilizers and equipment for our war gardens, notably for that 300 acres or more at Camp Dix.

Not content with working in this way for the Army, you stimulated the interests of the householders, and that of the boys and girls of our country in the creation and cultivation of war gardens. The five million war gardens of 1918 raised over $535,000,000 worth of food. And you have been as quick to perceive the problems confronting us with the signing of the armistice, recognizing that the Victory Garden must play as important a part in solving world problems as did the War Garden.

For your foresight and activity, the country owes you a debt of gratitude.

Lakewood, N. J.

MISS ALICE LAKEY,
Chairman, New Jersey State Liberty Medal Committee,
Cranford, N. J.

MY DEAR MISS LAKEY:

Many thanks for your good letter of April 5. I was very sorry indeed I could not be with you. I was delighted to hear that Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis came to Cranford to present the medals. He is a fine man. The medal has arrived by registered post. I certainly am very mindful of all that you have done.

With regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
CHARLES LATHROP PACK.

March 10, 1919.

To MRS. H. OTTO WITTPENN.

A lover of humanity, you have responded to her every call, you have made humanity's interests paramount to your own.

A loyal citizen, you have at all times and in all places served your country in its hours of prosperity and in its days of gloom.

In time of peace, you ministered to the prisoner, the bereft and the unfortunate.

When war came, you rose at once to a recognition of greater needs, and by organizing working centers everywhere within her borders, you raised large sums, and in this way helped the state you had served to lend her aid to the nation.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I cannot find words to thank you for your share in the great honor which has been conferred on me. Your letter is

so wonderfully expressed and the medal is so beautiful, that I do not know which I value the most. My sense of unworthiness is very great, but does not prevent an equal share of appreciation and gratitude.

Sincerely yours,

CAROLINE B. WITTPENN.

March 10, 1919.

To JOHN C. MERRIAM, PH.D.

You have allowed neither personal nor professional considerations to interfere with your devotion to the nation in its hour of need.

When war was declared you left your chair at once in the University of California and applied your talents to the solution of scientific problems created by war conditions. You planned proper highways for military purposes along the Pacific Coast. You were Acting Chairman of the National Research Council and Chairman of several Sub-Committees. Whenever called upon to serve, you have responded without thought of personal sacrifices that might be encountered.

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I wish to express to you and to the National Institute of Social Sciences my appreciation of the compliment conveyed in awarding me the Liberty Medal which I have just received. I have been grateful for opportunity to assist in making science useful in the war emergency, and I hope that in the same way the service of science may continue its utmost contribution in times of peace.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN C. MERRIAM.

March 17, 1919.

To DANIEL WILLARD.

Always a loyal citizen working for the best interests of the country, you stood ready, on our entrance into the world war, to devote to its needs, gifts of a high and unimpeachable order.

In 1916 you served as chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. You served also as chairman of the Sub-committee on Transportation and

Communication of the Advisory Commission, and by your abilities brought about the organization of a railroad war board, and the coördination of the steam railroads for war purposes, which plan continued in effect until the railroads were taken over by the Federal Government on December 28, 1917.

In 1917 you were appointed by the President, Chairman of the War Industries Board, the highest position of power in the country, having in your hands the conduct of the entire business of the United States in raw and manufactured materials.

Baltimore, Md.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

Your letter of March 17, advising me that the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences had conferred upon me their Liberty Service Medal, is received.

Under circumstances which must have inspired in all true Americans a desire to be helpful, it was my good fortune to be given an opportunity to serve, and the satisfaction which came to me on that account was full and sufficient recompense for anything which I may have done in that connection. I appreciate none the less, however, the very great honor which has been conferred upon me by the National Institute of Social Sciences, and through you I desire to extend to the Institute and to the Liberty Medal Committee my sincere thanks for the beautiful medal and all that it signifies.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL WILLARD.

March 28, 1919.

TO MAGNUS SWENSON.

This medal has been conferred upon you in recognition of a loyalty which led you, on our declaration of war in April, 1917, to accept at once the chairmanship of the Wisconsin State Council of Defense.

As Food Administrator for Wisconsin, you anticipated by many weeks Mr. Hoover's plan for wheatless and meatless days. Under your enlightened direction the plan won its way into unusual recognition and proved to be, when adopted as a national policy, one of the greatest of all factors in successfully solving a world problem.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

I gratefully acknowledge receipt of the Liberty Service Medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences presented to me by the Wisconsin Committee on my return from Europe. It is sweet to be appreciated and I shall cherish this medal as a priceless possession.

Yours very truly,
MAGNUS SWENSON.

March 28, 1919.

TO FREDERIC VOGEL, JR.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your untiring and constant services during the Great War, which have commanded the special respect and esteem of your state.

Representing as you do the highest type of the German-American and commanding equally the confidence, respect and esteem of industrial and commercial interests, which had no German relation, you became inevitably the head of the most important financial activities in connection with the war uniting all classes in a common purpose of loyalty to the Government.

Milwaukee, Wis.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

Your kind letfer of March 28, together with the medal, was presented to me by Judge Jenkins and was a complete surprise and I appreciate the recognition very highly. I have tried to do what I considered my duty to the best of my ability.

Again thanking the Association for the attention, I remain,
Respectfully yours,
FRED. VOGEL, JR.

April 21, 1919.

TO LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE E. BREWER.

In 1915, and before your own country had declared war, you left a large and important practice in New York and sailed to care for the wounded in France.

You served as Medical Chief of the American Ambulance Hospital at Juilly; as Surgical Director of the General Hospital at Etretat; as Consultant in General Surgery with the Forty-second Division, the Fifth Division and the First Corps of the First Army. For three years you were in constant

danger, often performing difficult operations under fire, unfailing in courage, in readiness to aid and to cheer.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I received yesterday the attractive medal from the National Institute of Social Sciences. Please express to the Committee, and accept for yourself, my sincere thanks for the honor they have conferred upon me.

Very truly yours,
GEORGE E. BREWER.

July 1, 1919.

TO LIVINGSTON FARRAND, LL.D.

You left a large and lucrative practice to devote yourself to the relief of human suffering. You directed the work in France which had as its object the stamping out of tuberculosis, sparing yourself nothing in your consecration to work.

For this not only the sufferers of France, but those of every country in the world, must render you great gratitude.

The American Red Cross,
National Headquarters,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I cannot well express to you the appreciation which I feel at having been honored with the Liberty Medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences. I was very much surprised to be informed of the action of the Committee, during a recent visit to Denver, and was very much touched by the presentation which was made by Mr. Tyson Dines last week in that city.

Will you kindly express to the Committee my deep appreciation of the honor which they have done me?

Very truly yours,
LIVINGSTON FARRAND,
Chairman, Central Committee.

August 9, 1919.

TO MISS LUISITA LELAND.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your work as founder, chairman and organizer of the organization known as the Fatherless Children of France.

In this work you have rendered to France an inestimable service and set for the world an inspiring example.

Divining, with rare and penetrating sympathy, where the wound to France was deepest, you applied at once the remedy which alone could soothe and heal.

You knew the Frenchman's love of home, and in caring for his fatherless children, keeping them in homes, and when possible in localities where paternal traditions were preserved, you have displayed the wisdom and knowledge of a true understanding, both of national needs and the human heart. You have done more. You have proved to us all their interdependence.

The Fatherless Children of France, Inc.,
New York Committee.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I can hardly find words to express how touched I am by the action of the Liberty Medal Committee, and by the most undeservedly kind words with which you accompany the gift.

The beautiful medal will be one of my most valued possessions, marking, as it does, my own countrymen's approval of the work I have tried to do for our Great Ally, France. I feel most unworthy of the honor, realizing how far my work has fallen short of my ideals, a work which in itself was an honor and privilege to do.

Pray convey to your committee my deep appreciation of the honor they have done me, and also my thanks.

Very sincerely yours,
LUISITA LELAND.

February 7, 1920.

To MISS MAUDE K. WETMORE.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your unremitting and illumined service in organizing and directing the National League for Woman's Service of which, since January, 1917, you have been president.

When the United States, in April, 1917, declared war, the League under your guidance was found ready for instant activity with 50,000 women enrolled in thirty-one states. The first Woman's Motor Corps, the first War Canteen and the first Soldiers, Sailors and Marines' Club were established under your direction, setting a standard for this country, which served as a model for all later war activities. The League has since 1917 been organized in thirty-eight states, 700 cities, and with an enrollment of 250,000 members.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

There are times when it is difficult to properly express oneself and this is one of them.

Your letter stating that the National Institute of Social Sciences had conferred their Liberty Service Medal upon me, came as a complete surprise, for I know how limited my war service was, and how utterly impossible it would have been for the National League for Woman's Service to have "carried on" had it not been for the wonderful spirit and unselfish devotion of the officers and members throughout the country.

In receiving this mark of appreciation I can accept it only as their representative, and thank you in their name, as well as my own, for the honor your Society has conferred upon our organization.

The record of the National League for Woman's Service is one we are justly proud of; most of our work is done, and the greater number of our women have returned to their pre-war occupations, but the League continues as a reserve organization ready to be called out in case of a grave emergency.

With very deep appreciation, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

MAUDE K. WETMORE.

April 16, 1920.

TO THE HONORABLE JULIAN W. MACK.

Your varied and constructive services during the World War were of great importance in the prosecution of the war and of far-reaching permanent benefit to our Government and also to the 4,000,000 citizen soldiers and sailors, whose morale was heightened and whose future is made more promising as a result of your untiring work.

Your vision and patriotic service are perhaps most generally known through the War Risk Insurance Act, drafted largely by you as chairman of your committee and enacted by Congress with some modifications after a long fight in which you performed an active and important part. In this momentous Act, you provided for the maintenance of the dependent families of those in the service, partly by the men themselves and partly by gratuitous contribution from the government. Whatever may be said of the administration of this Act, its drafting and enactment marked a tremendous progress in our conception of social justice and unquestionably strengthened the morale of our army and maintained the self-respect of the men and their families.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 16, and the accompanying Liberty Medal, and to express to you and through you to the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences, my deep appreciation of this all too generous recognition of services which I was happily privileged to render in connection with the World War.

Very sincerely yours,
JULIAN W. MACK.

April 19, 1920.

TO CHARLES PIEZ.

In conferring upon you the Liberty Service Medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences, the Medal Committee adopts as a true expression of its feelings for you a tribute paid to you by Mr. Charles M. Schwab, who says:

"I would like to write you about Mr. Charles Piez's service to the nation during the time he was connected with the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and tell you how I feel with regard to any recognition that might be given him. When I was appointed Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, I discovered that he was by long odds the most valuable man connected with the shipbuilding industry. His executive ability, his disinterestedness, his skill in handling the business were all of exceptional value. Not only did I regard him as one of the ablest administrators and business men I ever knew, but I learned to like and appreciate him very much as a personal friend. Wherever I went, whenever I spoke, and whatever I did in connection with the shipbuilding, I never failed to give the chief credit to Mr. Piez.

"I have always greatly regretted that he had not been given some medal of distinction from the authorities at Washington, because no man deserved it more. The first gold medal which I personally issued from the Fleet Corporation, during my term as Director General, was awarded to Mr. Piez. I think there were only about ten or twelve given and they were given for most exceptional service.

"Words fail to express one's appreciation of a man's service, but briefly summed up, I may say with certainty that no man connected with the Emergency Fleet Corporation during our War was of such value and deserves so much credit as Mr. Charles Piez, and I hope your committee will see its way clear to honor him."

DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

In acknowledging receipt of your letter of April 19, announcing the award of the Liberty Service Medal for service rendered during the war, permit me to express my deep appreciation of the distinction accorded me. And permit me to add too, that I appreciate very much the action of your Committee in adopting Mr. Charles M. Schwab's very generous and gracious tribute as its own expression of the value of my services.

Very sincerely yours,
CHARLES PIEZ.

PATRIOTIC SERVICE MEDALS

February 5, 1919.

To WILLIAM D. COCHRAN.

You have given both strength and enthusiasm to helping your country win the war. You began by journeying to every county of Kentucky, and in a series of addresses enlightened the people as to the real causes of the war and justifying our entrance into it. In this way you aroused a patriotism all the more sincere because it was intelligent.

You have since then lent all your energies to cheering and encouraging the soldier and your talents to devising ways and means of strengthening him in his purpose.

Maysville, Ky.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

The medal, as you may know, was awarded, after Mr. Cochran's death, dying suddenly on his way home from a meeting of the State Council of Defense, February 7.

Judge Hines said in his memorial address, "His devotion to the cause for which America gave her blood and treasure, amounted to consecration, and service had become his religion." I assure you that this recognition of his services would be to him a rare pleasure, and nothing in your power to bestow would mean so much as that medal with his name and the inscription "Worthy of Honor." They are greatly appreciated by me and I desire to thank the Committee and you for them. I am,

Very sincerely,
MRS. WILLIAM D. COCHRAN.

February 10, 1919.

To FREDERIC M. SACKETT.

You have given to your country untiring service, unselfishly performed, and you have exercised for its benefit a rare genius for leadership.

As Federal Food Administrator for Kentucky, you were able to arouse the enthusiastic sympathies and support of the people, thereby rendering signal aid to our Government at a crisis in its history.

You have also rendered it another service, by your energy and your generosity securing for its use the land now occupied by Camp Zachary Taylor, a leading Army Cantonment of the country.

Louisville, Ky.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

Permit me to acknowledge the award to me by the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the National Institute of Social Sciences of the beautiful Liberty Medal.

It was presented to me recently by Captain Charles Huhlein, acting for the Local Committee, together with the citation issued by your organization.

It is almost as difficult now to express my appreciation of the honor which the Institute has conferred upon me as it was to reply fittingly in public to the Committee at the time when the award and presentation were to me a complete surprise.

Will you kindly convey to the Liberty Medal Committee my assurances of deep appreciation of their action, and my proud acceptance of the medal as a recognition of the effort of the loyal staff members of my organization who worked so unselfishly in aid of their country in its time of trial?

Adding again my personal thanks for the great honor which you have bestowed upon me, I remain,

Most appreciatively,

FREDERIC M. SACKETT.

February 13, 1919.

TO MRS. CHARLES D. FREEMAN.

With the outbreak of war in Europe, you began by giving instant aid. You organized the Mercy Committee of New Jersey to lend a helping hand whenever an emergency arose, whether in your own state or in any other state in the Union, or yet in a foreign country.

You have sent relief to France and after the Morgan disaster, you supplied within two hours sufficient food to feed 6,000 refugees. In this way you have rendered signal service to your country.

Middlesex Farm, Iselin, N. J.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

In receiving from your gracious Medal Committee the beautiful citation and the award of the Patriotic Medal, I feel

quite unworthy of the honor myself, realizing as I do, my powerlessness of achievement without the zealous work and ardent patriotism of the members of the Mercy Committee of New Jersey.

I shall always proudly enjoy the distinction you have bestowed upon me.

Gratefully yours,
ELOISE T. FREEMAN.

February 28, 1919.

To DR. PAUL H. SAUNDERS.

In working for the National War Loans and in giving publicity to the War Savings Stamps, you have labored with an enthusiasm and loyalty that has won for you the respect and admiration of your fellow citizens.

New Orleans, La.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I wish to express to you and through you to the National Institute of Social Sciences my very sincere appreciation of this recognition of my efforts in connection with various calls of the Government during our recent war. I feel that there are many in New Orleans more worthy than I to receive this recognition, but it was only human to appreciate the honor thus conferred and to hope that it was worthily bestowed.

February 28, 1919.

To MR. CHARLES WEINBERGER.

You have, as chief of the New Orleans Division of the American Patriotic League, exercised a watchfulness that has not only preserved our soldiers and sailors from deteriorating influences, but you have displayed as organizer of your working forces, a tact and an acumen which has made of the New Orleans Division, one of the most efficient aids to the Federal Service.

DEAR MISS FRENCH:

Acknowledging receipt of your very kind favor under date of the 28th ult., beg to say that the Patriotic Service Medal has been presented to me by Dr. A. L. Metz, vice-president of this city.

In accepting this medal, I wish to express my deep appreciation of the distinguished consideration shown me by the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences in conferring this honor upon me, and to thank you for the very kind expressions contained in your letter.

Respectfully,

CHARLES WEINBERGER.

March 18, 1919.

To CORNELIUS N. BLISS, JR.

This medal has been awarded you for your labors consecrated to the securing of means for the relief of suffering brought about by the war.

Since the organization of the War Council of the American Red Cross, you have served as its treasurer and in filling that office, have won the respect and esteem of both your co-workers and compatriots.

In your conduct of the two Red Cross campaigns you displayed a tact and wisdom that carried those campaigns to a phenomenal success, securing for your treasury some two millions of dollars.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I wish to express through you to the Institute my very deep appreciation of their action in conferring upon me the Liberty Medal, as an award for my work during the past two years in connection with the American Red Cross.

With grateful appreciation of the honor conferred upon me by the Institute, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

CORNELIUS N. BLISS, JR.

March 24, 1919.

To JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

In assuming the chairmanship of the New York City Division of the United War Work Campaign Fund, you encountered and surmounted difficulties before which most men would have been overcome.

On the day the campaign opened, with $35,000,000 to raise, the Armistice was signed, and yet, by your untiring efforts, your patience, tact and personal generosity, the goal was reached, and the quota completed within a week of the appointed time.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 24 and the medal conferred upon me by the National Institute of Social Sciences in recognition of the service which I was privileged to render as Chairman of the United War Work Campaign in Greater New York.

Please convey to the Liberty Medal Committee my sense of appreciation of the honor which it has conferred upon me and for which I wish to express my deep thanks.

Very truly yours,

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

March 26, 1919.

TO THE HONORABLE FRANK W. CARPENTER.

Governor of the Philippine Islands.

When War was declared by us against the Central Powers, you found yourself as Governor of Mindanao and Sulu, left to control, single-handed, 300,000 Moros.

Your American Constabulary officers having been called to serve in Europe, you were obliged to appoint young Filipino Constabulary officers to take the places of experienced Americans. In spite of this you controlled by your tact and personal influence the local situation, thereby rendering great service to your country.

The Government of the Philippine Islands,
Department of Mindanao and Sulu.
Office of the Governor.

Manila, P. I.

DEAR MADAM:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter, of March 26, 1919, and accompanying Patriotic Service Medal with which I am honored by the Liberty Medal Committee, of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences.

For this unexpected and extraordinary distinction I beg to express my profound gratitude. The letter and medal are to me a great consolation in my bitter disappointment at having been unable personally to render active service in the armed forces of our government in the theater of war operations.

In explanation of the apparent great delay in this acknowledgment of your letter I beg to offer the fact of my absence from Zamboanga on official business in Luzon.

Very respectfully,

F. W. CARPENTER.

March 26, 1919.

To Mrs. Arthur Curtiss James.

As chairman of the Woman's Committee of One Hundred which was organized by the Y. M. C. A. you have labored unceasingly to raise funds sufficient for carrying aid and comfort to our soldiers.

During the united war work campaign, the Woman's Teams in New York City, secured under your chairmanship, over two million dollars.

My dear Miss French:

You are indeed kind to include me among the fortunate women recipients of the Liberty Medal.

I feel that nothing I have done has merited such a distinction, but it will always be an evidence of your great kindness in wishing me to be one of those to possess it.

Thanking you and the Committee for your generosity, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
Harriet P. James.

March 26, 1919.

To Mrs. Stanley Mortimer.

You have, since the outbreak of the war, given all of your time to the teaching of French to our officers and sailors who, stationed at Newport and in its neighborhood, were making ready for service in France.

In this way you enabled them, when landing on a foreign soil, to make their needs known without difficulty.

My dear Miss French:

Will you please express to the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences my deep sense of the great compliment the Committee has paid me with the award of its Patriotic Service Medal?

At the same time I cannot help feeling that it is an honor so far beyond what I deserve, that it is difficult for me to know how to express my thanks—and this in itself only serves to increase my heartfelt appreciation and thanks for this great honor which they have bestowed upon me. I only wish I felt more worthy of it. Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
Elizabeth Livingston Mortimer.

March 31, 1919.

To Mrs. Robert A. Franks.

You have formulated a system of economics for the household which substitutes for the haphazard a well ordered procedure. In the question of foods, you have rendered, with your well-balanced menus, a service so great that both physicians and political economists have attested its value.

My Dear Miss Lakey:

Chairman, New Jersey State Liberty Medal Committee.

I am deeply grateful that the National Institute of Social Sciences has honored my efforts to simplify home-making for women, by the bestowal of their Patriotic Service Medal. Such a recognition serves to add dignity to women's work in the home, to remove from it the stigma of menial labor, to give to it its true importance as an art and science upon which rests the very foundation of our national health, wealth and happiness.

May I, in the name of all women, thank the National Institute of Social Sciences for this very great honor, and assure them that I shall treasure their beautiful medal always?

Very truly yours,

Thetta Quay Franks.

June 20, 1919.

To Mrs. Carlos M. de Heredia.

As founder and organizer of the Clinic for Functional Reëducation of Soldiers, Sailors and Civilians in New York City, you have relieved human suffering and inspired hope among thousands of war and industrial cripples.

Since the opening of your Clinic, July, 1918, more than 25,000 individual treatments have been given to American soldiers and sailors; to marines from Château-Thierry, and to not a few from Canada, England and Ireland.

By your personal example and your untiring zeal, you have aroused a spirit among your colaborers that has stamped your organization as one of the most important contributions made in this country to the medical and surgical service of the war.

My dear Miss French:

To have the work of the Clinic for Functional Reëducation appreciated and acknowledged by the American Social Science Association and Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences means more to me than I can express!

The charming medal the Institute has presented to me for my part in the organization and work of the Clinic must be shared by my fellow-workers, so closely allied also to the success the Clinic has achieved.

I accept the medal in the name of the Clinic with the deepest sense of the obligation and honor it bears.

I beg you will present to the members of the Committee my gratitude and appreciation of this honor so graciously accorded.

Faithfully yours,
GEORGIE DE HEREDIA.

July 1, 1919.

To MISS CLARA D. NOYES,

As Director of the Bureau of Field Nursing Service of the American Red Cross at national headquarters, you rendered to your country and its wounded a service of high and inestimable value.

During the entire period of the war you had charge of the distribution and placing of all the Red Cross nurses assigned to the army, navy and public health.

Under your direction, 19,877 nurses have passed through your bureau.

American Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

It is with keen appreciation of the honor conferred upon me that I acknowledge the receipt of the citation and the Patriotic Service Medal, presented to me by the National Institute of Social Sciences, in recognition of the services I have performed during the war as Director of the Bureau of Field Nursing Service of the American Red Cross.

In the selection and assignment of approximately 20,000 nurses to military and civilian duty, I was always keenly alive to the privilege that had been accorded me. Any work or anxiety connected with this responsibility has been more than offset by the devotion, the courage, and the fine character of service rendered by the nurses while engaged in the care of our sick and wounded soldiers and sailors, and the civilian population of our allies.

In the name of the nurses I represent, and my own, I again thank you for the honor conferred upon me. Believe me,

Very Sincerely yours,
CLARA D. NOYES,
Acting Director, Department of Nursing.

July 1, 1919.

To JOHN VAN SCHAICK, JR., D.D.

This medal has been given you in recognition of the very valuable care and service which you rendered the refugees of Belgium during the period that you were assistant to Dr. Ernest P. Bicknell, Red Cross Commissioner for Belgium.

When, in 1919, you succeeded Dr. Bicknell to the position of Red Cross Commissioner, very important work was assigned to you for both military and civilian hospitals and orphanages, and this work you accomplished in a way to arouse the enthusiasm of your co-workers and the gratitude of those you served.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON:

Your letter of July 15 has just reached me here.

The National Institute of Social Sciences and the American Social Science Association stand so high in our country that I have always counted membership a very high honor.

I am therefore profoundly touched by your announcement that the Liberty Medal Committee have awarded me the Patriotic Service Medal.

Please transmit to the committee and accept, my dear Mr. President, for yourself, the assurance of my grateful appreciation.

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN VAN SCHAICK, JR.

January 21, 1920.

To MRS. WILLIAM K. DRAPER.

You have given untiring zeal in ministrations to the soldier.

Beginning with Red Cross work in 1898, throughout the Spanish-American War, again at Plattsburgh and when war was declared against Germany, you never failed in instant response to a need, rendering with rare intelligence and energy any service demanded of you.

MY DEAR MISS FRENCH:

Your letter of January 21 and the Patriotic Service Medal which the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National Institute of Social Sciences has bestowed upon me were received yesterday.

Let me express to you and through you to the Committee

and Council my thanks and deep appreciation of the honor which has been done me in the award of this medal. I shall value it highly and it will always be a treasured reminder of the inspiring work to which we were all able to contribute during the war.

Again with the assurance of my thanks and appreciation, believe me,

Sincerely yours,
HELEN FIDELIA DRAPER.

January 26, 1920.

TO MISS BLANCHE P. DURGIN.

As organizer of the Haversack Club, Camp Dix, New Jersey, you gave of your time, strength and enthusiasm for seventeen months beginning November, 1917. With your co-workers you worked cheerfully often sixteen hours a day for the comfort of the soldier. During 342 days, 81,140 soldiers were fed. In recognition of its splendid service, the Haversack Club was made an official organization, being admitted to the War Community Service.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

On January 29 a letter from Miss Alice Lakey of Cranford, N. J., notified me that the National Institute had awarded me a medal for patriotic service in organizing, developing and helping maintain the Haversack Club at Camp Dix, for the period of the war. That afternoon I was presented with the medal in Newark and never in my life have I felt so unworthy and absolutely humble. The opportunity to serve was constant and in retrospect I find many things left undone and many an opportunity for service overlooked. You, who have done so much, know what the joy of service is, and know also one can never put into service that which one gets out of being allowed to serve.

Will you extend to your honored Institute my appreciation of the honor conferred upon me, in awarding me the Liberty Medal and in accepting it I share the honor of the award and its possession with the seven resident hostesses who served there with me for periods varying from six to twenty-one months. Many courtesies have been extended to me and honors conferred upon me since it was my rare good fortune to live at the Haversack, but the National Institute has filled to overflowing my cup of joy, for it never occurred to me I could possibly be remembered by so distinguished an institution as is yours.

Thanking you for your extremely kind letter with very best wishes for you, I am,

Yours very sincerely,
BLANCHE P. DURGIN.

February 3, 1920.

TO MRS. EDWIN A. ALDERMAN.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your energetic and untiring service during the war from January, 1915, to and beyond November, 1918. You organized under your personal direction the American Committee for the Relief of French Wounded at the University of Virginia, which rendered a valuable war service.

University of Virginia.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter of February 3 and the Patriotic Service Medal.

I feel a sense of profound gratitude, as much for those who coöperated with me as for myself. I feel, too, that the organization of the American Fund for French Wounded is being honored. Please be assured of my sincere appreciation. It was much too little, the service that I was able to render.

Cordially yours,
BESSIE H. ALDERMAN.

February 5, 1920.

TO THE HONORABLE PHILLIPS LEE GOLDSBOROUGH,
Ex-Governor of Maryland.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your devotion to our country from the time the United States entered the war until the signing of the armistice.

In the voicing of your ideals to the people and in acting as chairman of the Fourth Liberty Loan Committee for the State of Maryland, you rendered an inestimable and patriotic service.

Baltimore, Md.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 5, advising that the Liberty Medal Committee of the American Social Science Association and the Council of the National

Institute of Social Sciences has conferred upon me their Patriotic Service Medal, and that it was given in recognition of services rendered our country from the time the United States entered the war until the signing of the armistice.

Please believe that I am deeply conscious of the honor so conferred upon me and that it will be treasured not only by me, but those members of my family who will come hereafter.

With grateful appreciation of the distinction so shown, please believe me,

Sincerely yours,
PHILLIPS LEE GOLDSBOROUGH.

February 6, 1920.

To MRS. WILLIAM V. SWORDS.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your many personal war services.

Joining the American Fund for French Wounded in 1917, you worked unstintingly at their headquarters in Paris. Wherever duty called, you went and served under continual fire in the canteens of Bar-le-Duc and Chalôns. In March, 1918, when the refugees poured into Paris, you in your work encountered disease and ran the risk of infection. Among the devastated regions of Ribècourt you performed an inestimable service for your fellow-man.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON:

Words are so inadequate when it comes to expressing my appreciation and gratitude to you, and the National Institute of Social Sciences for the very beautiful medal which was presented to me on behalf of the Society by Mr. Grant. I cannot feel that I really deserved it—there were so many other women whose work was bigger and more far-reaching than mine, and many also who braved dangers in spite of a very human fear in their hearts for their own personal safety. Nevertheless, I am keenly appreciative of the honor which the Institute has conferred upon me and more than grateful that my very insignificant work in France should have been so rewarded in honor and beauty far out of proportion to anything I ever did to merit it.

With my most sincere and heartfelt thanks. Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
EMMA NAPIER SWORDS.

March 9, 1920.

To Miss Emily H. Chauncey.

This medal has been given you in recognition of the invaluable work performed by you for the Vacation War Relief.

Tireless, unselfish, unself-sparing in your labors, you carried through the arrangement for shipments of some 30,000 cases, containing 1,000,000 articles of war materials destined for the relief of war sufferers. You also organized and supervised with such intelligence the workrooms under you, that many of the patterns which you designed for emergencies were afterwards adopted by the Red Cross as permanent models.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have just received your letter of March 9, and I cannot tell you how deeply I appreciate the very great honor you have done me, and how very grateful I am for the wonderful letter you sent me.

Yours sincerely,
Emily H. Chauncey.

April 9, 1920.

To Mrs. Edward M. Townsend.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your remarkable work in the organization of various Hostess Houses throughout the army camps.

In August, 1917, you entered the services of the Y. W. C. A. as chairman of the Hostess House Committee of the War Council. Your duties consisted of the constructing, planning and administering of 125 houses maintained by the Y. W. C. A., one of which is still open in New York, where the incoming or returning war brides may be taken care of. During the period of the war and the armistice, you devoted each day to the creation of staffs, corps of supervisors, the making of important decisions and occasionally visiting army camps as far south as Camp Hancock, Georgia, and as far west as Camp Dodge, Iowa.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Mr. Grant has presented me, with due ceremony, the fine medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences, together with your courteous letter.

May I thank you for the letter and ask you to convey to the officers of the Institute my deep appreciation of the honor they have conferred upon me and my committee in awarding the Liberty Medal in recognition of the usefulness of the hostess houses in the army camps?

It gives me the greatest pleasure to receive this tribute, and I accept it for myself and for my fellow-workers with sincere gratitude. It is true that without a chairman who is willing to assume responsibility no committee can accomplish very much, but it is equally true that without the loyal support, confidence and activity of the members of a committee, no chairman can accomplish anything at all. This corporation has been so unreservedly mine as chairman of the National Hostess House Committee of the War Work Council of the Young Women's Christian Association that I feel that any appreciation of the work assigned to me must include not only myself, but all the members of my committee.

In their name, therefore, as well as in my own, I wish to thank the officers of the National Institute of Social Sciences for the expression of their esteem and approval, and I have the honor, Mr. President, to remain,

Sincerely yours,

ALICE GREENOUGH TOWNSEND,
Chairman, National Hostess House Committee, Y. W. C. A.

April 19, 1920.

To MRS. PHILIP SCHUYLER DOANE.

This medal has been given you in recognition of your devoted and personal attention during the past four years to services of inestimable aid to your city and your State.

In 1916 you were appointed the only woman member of the Executive Committee of the Chicago Chapter of the American Red Cross. Under your jurisdiction, numerous groups were organized through ten central states to assist in the making of hospital and surgical supplies for the American Red Cross.

To your generosity, during the influenza epidemic in Philadelphia, 1918, a hospital for the 7,500 employees of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, owes its establishment. You also organized and directed a club for the welfare of the women employees of the United States Shipping Board that they might be better equipped to serve their country.

DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

I hasten to acknowledge your letter of the nineteenth of May.

I am gratified beyond expression by the honor which you have conferred upon me.

Sincerely yours,
HELEN S. DOANE.

ACTIVITIES OF MEMBERS

During May, 1919, Ephraim Douglass Adams, Ph.D., went to Europe with the purpose of making for Stanford University an historical collection upon the War and upon the Peace. He was engaged on this work until December, having spent most of his time in Paris, Brussels, Berlin and London. This historical collection will bear primarily upon industrial, economic and social conditions rather than upon the military history of the war. Especially it will deal with food conditions in all the countries of the world during the period of the war, because of the active interest in the collection of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, American Food Administrator, who is a trustee of Stanford University and who really originated the idea of the Historical Collection.

Franklin P. Adams, Counselor of the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Harriet Chalmers Adams, writer and lecturer, sailed, after the armistice, for a fourteen months' journey to South America.

After their return to this country, Mrs. Adams lectured on the subject of the West Coast before the National Geographic Society of Washington, D. C. This lecture embraced a portion of the journey to the little known San Blas Indians of the Republic of Panama; an overland journey in the saddle to the ancient Peruvian city of Cajamarca, where Pizarro defeated Atahualpa, last of the Inca rulers; desert ruins of prehistoric races on the Peruvian coast, and an overland journey through Chile from the nitrate region of the north to the lovely wooded country of the far south. From Chile, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, during the snowy season, crossed the Andes in the saddle, visited Argentina, Paraguay and Montevideo and spent three months in Brazil.

Prior to this South American journey, Mrs. Adams, in 1918, visited every Indian tribe in the United States.

Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., went to Paris in March, 1919, as a representative of the American Jewish Committee to aid in securing at the Peace Conference full rights for the racial, religious and linguistic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe.

On April 18, 1919, the Secretary of State of the War Department of France awarded Charles W. Ames a Médaille d'honneur, as a "Recompense pour Belles Actions." The following November, the title of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon Mr. Ames in recognition of his services to France during the war.

As vice-president of the Association for Constitutional Government, he assisted in its organization in Washington, D. C. Through Mr. Ames' efforts, Constitution Day in St. Paul, Minnesota, was made a memorable celebration.

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews spent the first five months of the past year in Paris, having been appointed by the United States Commissioner of Education to represent the United States Bureau of Education during the Peace Conference. While in Europe, Mrs. Andrews prepared, at the request of the Army Educational Commission, a Course in Foreign Relations for the American Army Schools in France. She gave several addresses to the soldiers in the camps under the direction of the Army Educational Commission on the subjects contained in the Course.

Mrs. Andrews was appointed on the Paris Committee of the League to Enforce Peace, and as a member of that Committee attended the Meeting of Delegates of Allied Associations for a Society of Nations and also represented the National Council of Women of the United States in the conference of the International Council of Women and Conference of Women Suffragists of the Allied Countries and of the United States, meeting as a group in Paris and composed of delegates representing the United States, England, France, Italy, Roumania, and Belgium. On April 10, 1919, on behalf of this conference, Mrs. Andrews made an appeal to the League of Nations Commission of the Peace Conference at Paris for the

inclusion of an article in the Covenant of the League of Nations which would provide for an International Bureau of Education as a part of the organization of the League.

Mrs. Andrews is editing the History Report soon to be published by the American School Citizenship League. This consists of five books, containing a Course of Study in History for the elementary and junior high schools and also a series of graded type studies.

Hugh Potter Baker, M. F. D. Oec. (Doctor of Economics), Dean of the New York State College of Forestry at Syracuse University, returned to the work of the college early in 1919 after serving eighteen months with the Regular Infantry and on the General Staff.

In the early spring Dr. Baker secured the establishment, by legislative act, of the Roosevelt Wild Life Experiment Station as a phase of the work of the State College of Forestry. This was the only memorial to ex-President Roosevelt which was recognized by the State Legislature of New York during the year. The establishment of this station made it possible to bring together into one organization several lines of research work in animal and plant life of the forest lands of the state.

During the summer of 1919 in continuation of the policy of aggressive research, which was established in the College shortly after its organization in 1911, a party of five men, two of whom were members of the faculty of the College of Forestry, were sent to the Western Adirondacks to study the question of the regeneration of the Adirondack forests and to give special attention to the utilization of the hardwood forests which have replaced the evergreen forests. As a part of this study the first insectary ever built in the forests in this country, for the study of forest insects, was located in the Summer Forest Camp of the College of Forestry on Cranberry Lake in the Western Adirondacks. During the year Governor Smith reappointed Dr. Baker a member of the State Board of Geographical Names. On March 1, 1920, he became secretary of the American Paper and Pulp Association, severing his connection with the State College of Forestry.

Recent publications by James H. Baker, LL.D., of Denver, Colorado, are "American University Progress and College Reforms," and "After the War—What?" Dr. Baker has also delivered addresses on the "League of Nations"; "Reconstruction—International, National, Industrial."

William H. Ballou, Sc.D., United States Honorary Commissioner, continued his propaganda for the National Food Administration last year, changing its title of "Eat More Fish" to "Everybody Go Fishing." He succeeded in arranging lower round-trip fares to angling resorts. Dr. Ballou wrote and published over one hundred columns in sixty-five and often many more newspapers, encouraging general angling by the public to lower the cost of foods. He passed the summer months in a rowboat on Barnegat Bay, irrespective of weather conditions, rowing altogether over 1,500 miles, giving out daily to the press, the angling news gathered by observation.

As a result of Dr. Ballou's efforts, investigations and prosecutions are going on under the United States Corps of Engineers for the violation of navigation laws by commercial fishermen blocking inlets to bays with pound nets, failure to light net poles at night, and the illegal use of small meshes which destroy school fish by the hundreds of thousands. He is working through Congress and Legislatures for navigation laws, requiring pound nets to be placed at least one mile from inlets.

After a search of many years, Dr. Ballou caught the Polyporus Ovinus of Sweden breeding in a deciduous forest near Forked River, New Jersey. This is an ice cold mushroom of luscious qualities when just out of the ground, but later turns to a woody condition, then partially deliquesces, and finally dries black. It is much sought for in northern European markets, and while suspected of wider geographical distribution, has never previously been found and recognized in America.

Dr. Ballou was elected Regent of the Midland University and at the June Commencement the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him by the Chicago Law School for discoveries relating to the causes and control of disease.

Mrs. Clarice M. Baright, among other activities which have engaged her time during 1919, reports a very important work she accomplished in the Woman's Court. She tried the officers of the Police Department who arrested innocent girls, having donned the army uniform to entrap the girls. As a result, the officers are more on their guard in making arrests of unfortunates. The girls, whose cases especially interested Mrs. Baright, were exonerated by the higher courts and they are facing the world again with a clean slate, morally speaking. This work was accomplished by Mrs. Baright without compensation.

Another activity was the successful unearthing of conditions at Bedford Reformatory. A complete reorganization is expected as a result. "It is my idea," says Mrs. Baright, "that a Reformatory shall be a Reformatory in the true sense of the word, and I found upon very careful investigation and devotion of time and energy that such was not the case, and I am going to give all the assistance I can to have a Reformatory such an institution in fact as well as in name."

A greater part of the present year has been devoted to the organization of parents of the school children to take up the battle of increase in salary for the teachers. At the joint session of the Legislature, Mrs. Baright spoke on behalf of the teachers, presenting a petition of fifty thousand names signed by the parents of Bronx County. She is now actively engaged in helping the teachers win their battle.

Julius H. Barnes has continued to serve this year as president of the United States Grain Corporation, formerly Food Administration Grain Corporation, which office he has held since the beginning of Mr. Hoover's administration in 1917.

In addition, on the 1st of July, at the request of the President, Mr. Barnes accepted the office of United States Wheat Director, established by Act of Congress to make effective the Wheat Guarantee to the producers of the United States.

In March, 1919, at the request of the China National Defense League of England, the Honorable George Eames Barstow wrote a paper entitled: "Chino-Japanese Imbroglio," which has been widely circulated.

Mr. Barstow in November contributed at the request of the Society of Applied Psychology, San Francisco and New York, "The Effect of Psychology on Americanism."

He has devoted considerable time as a life member of the United States Good Roads Association, to the establishment of the Bankhead National Highway from Washington to Los Angeles. His efforts have been directed towards largely increasing the irrigation and drainage of the State of Texas. The Red Bluff Reservoir in the Pecos Valley of West Texas has been surveyed for the final time by the Federal Government. An important result of the work will be to impound some 500,000 acre feet of water and which will insure great agricultural production from 150,000 acres of land. Forty thousand acres are now under cultivation by the ordinary flow of the Pecos River.

In October, 1919, the French Government awarded to Edward Bartow, Chief of the State Water Survey Division, Urbana, Ill., the La Médaille d'argent des epidemies in recognition of work performed in a French laboratory under the direction of the French Interministerial Commission.

Marston Taylor Bogert, LL.D., reports that on May 1, 1919, he received his honorable discharge as Colonel in the United States Army. Dr. Bogert has since returned to his former position as Professor of Organic Chemistry at Columbia University.

Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, vice-president of the United Charities, member of the Executive Committee of Fifteen, and president of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, was appointed in December, 1919, by the Department of Justice of the United States, chairman of the Woman's Department of the Fair Price Commission for the State of Illinois. This position Mrs. Bowen still holds.

During the war, Mrs. Bowen served as the only woman member of the Illinois State Council of Defense and head of the Woman's Committee of that body. From the beginning of the war until January 1, 1920, she also served as chairman

of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, Illinois Division. These two committees were combined and numbered 700,000 women in Illinois who worked under Mrs. Bowen with 7,700 local chairmen throughout the State.

On May, 1919, Bishop Charles H. Brent was mustered out of the Army as Senior Chaplain of the American Expeditionary Forces. He immediately took up his duties as Bishop of Western New York, and since then, has confined himself as far as possible to his accumulated local duties. He served on the Executive Committee of the American Legion up to the time of the national convention in Minneapolis in November. He has also been active in endeavoring to establish the American Field of Honor Association which is to care for the dead that remain in France with appropriate monuments.

The British Government has conferred upon Bishop Brent the decoration of the Companion of the Bath; the French Government, the Officer of the Legion of Honor. He has also been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and the Commander of the Order of Leopold.

Hobart College, of which Bishop Brent is Chancellor, conferred on him the degree of LL.D., and Yale University the degree of D.D.

Mr. Joseph G. Brown, president of the Citizens National Bank, Raleigh, N. C., reports that he has been actively engaged in the closing up of the Liberty Loan matters of which he had charge as chairman during the five loans. Mr. Brown has also served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Raleigh Chapter of the Red Cross; as a member on the Columbia Group of the Pan American Financial Conference, held during January, 1920, in Washington, D. C.; on the Federal Advisory Council, which is advisory to the Federal Reserve Board of our Government banking system; as president of the State Hospitals' Board which has in charge the three State Hospitals for the insane and the Caswell Training School for defectives, and as State Treasurer, until recently, of the Syrian-Armenian Relief Fund.

In connection with the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-10, 1920, a pageant was given upon the Campus.

The pageant was written and produced by the heads of the Departments of History and Spoken English, Professor Mary W. Brownson and Vanda E. Kerst; the music by the head of the Department of Music. "The theme of the Pageant," as given in the Foreword, "is Victory Through Conflict. The presentation of the subject matter shows the struggles of the human race to catch the vision of the Divine Plan for its effort and achievement, and, in spite of repeated failure, to carry on the work to final and entire realization."

Henry G. Bryant, of Philadelphia, contributed to the April Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia an article on the French colonies of the Far East, which has merited the approval of M. Jules Jusserand. The contribution is entitled: "The Land of the Golden Dragon—Recollections of French Indo-China." As an evidence of international good feeling, Mr. Bryant was recently elected an honorary member of the French Alpine Club.

As Commissioner of the Serbian War Relief Committee, William B. Buck sailed for Serbia on September 17, 1919. Mr. Buck was appointed to select the personnel, to assist in the organization of relief for the Balkan and Serbian Commissions of the American Red Cross, and to investigate the relief conditions in North Serbia for the latter commission.

E. G. Buckland, Vice-President and General Counsel of the New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Company, in 1919 served as a member of the conference called by the United States Chamber of Commerce with regard to national railroad legislation; also as a member of the Venezuelan Group at the Pan American Conference. A major part of Mr. Buckland's time has been devoted to his duties as corporate president of the N. Y., N. H. & Hartford R. R. and its seven affiliated and controlled lines.

Mr. Caldwell, in January, 1919, was appointed by this Government, Special United States Industrial Commissioner to investigate industrial conditions in England and France, and made an extensive study of this subject, after which, as President of the American Mid-European Association, he spent some weeks at the Peace Conference in Paris, in behalf of the new nations of Mid-Europe created as a result of the war.

Shortly after his return to America, Mr. Caldwell was appointed by Mr. Charles D. Hilles, President of the National Republican Club, to the chairmanship of a specially created Industrial Relations Committee, to prosecute an investigation on this subject here in connection with the forthcoming Presidential campaign. The activities of this Committee led to the adoption of the plan by the National Republican Committee, Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, appointing Mr. Caldwell to the Chairmanship of the Industrial Relations Committee of the National Republican Committee, on which Mr. Caldwell is still engaged.

In November, 1919, Mr. Caldwell was appointed the first Industrial Adviser to the new Czecho-Slovak Republic, and the same year was appointed, by Secretary of Labor Wilson, an adviser to the Department of Labor of this Government.

On December 1, 1919, Samuel P. Capen, Ph.D., resigned as specialist in higher education in the United States Bureau of Education to assume the directorship of the American Council on Education. This Council is the central organization in which the great national educational associations are represented. Its general object is to promote and carry out coöperative action in matters of common interest to the associations and to the institutions composing them. It was a creation of the war designed to further the use by the government of the training facilities of higher institutions and to cement educational relations with foreign countries. During the current academic year it has been put upon a sound financial basis and is expected to continue as an important part of the higher educational machinery of the country.

The first task to which the Council's executive office has turned its hand is a critical analysis of the large mass of pend-

ing federal legislation affecting education. A discussion of some of this material appears in the first issue of the Educational Record, the quarterly bulletin of the Council, of which Dr. Capen is the editor.

Throughout 1919, John Foster Carr's chief activities have been devoted to the Immigrant Publication Society of which he is founder and director. The work of this Society, which enlists the coöperation of the foreign born, is patriotic and educational. Its two most recent publications are: "War's End: The Italian Immigrant Speaks of the Future," by Mr. Carr, a study of the moral, intellectual and civic potentialities of the Italian workingman; "Exploring a Neighborhood;" by Mary Frank, edited by Mr. Carr, a library survey of New York's lower East Side, dealing with the life and social and historical backgrounds of our Jewish people from Eastern Europe and the Orient. It has to do particularly with a study of the contributions that these newcomers are able to make to our common citizenship.

During the latter part of the war, Mr. Carr was secretary, and later vice-president, of the Italian War Relief Fund of New York, which has been collecting money for the war sufferers in Italy.

Mr. Carr was Campaign Director of the 1919 Emergency Book-Drive of New York and Brooklyn, which raised the total of books collected in the two cities to over 850,000 volumes. The American Library Association used most of these books in its libraries for our soldiers and sailors in hospitals and on transports. Large numbers of them were also sent to the camp libraries here, and in France, Belgium and Germany.

For a period covering the last two years, Mr. Carr has also been serving as chairman of a new committee of the American Library Association, On Work with the Foreign Born, which especially concerns itself with promoting a knowledge of the English language and citizenship among our recent immigrants, a work in which public libraries are now taking an increasingly active part.

When W. S. Carter accepted the position as Director, Division of Labor of the Railroad Administration in Febru-

ary, 1918, he was granted an unlimited leave of absence from his position as president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen with headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio. Upon the return of the railroads to their owners on March 1st, 1920, Mr. Carter resumed his duties as president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Mrs. Catherine R. Chenoweth has been appointed chairman of the Memorial Committee of Daughters of Holland Dames to erect a commemorative and durable memorial as a lasting tribute to the early Dutch settlers. She has also been appointed by the Sulgrave Institution as a delegate to England and Holland in the celebration of the Tercentenary of the First American Legislative Assembly, which was held in Virginia, 1619.

Mrs. Luisita Leland Cofer, vice-president of the Fatherless Children of France, Inc., and also chairman of the New York Committee, reports that the society, since its inception in 1915, has cared for 200,000 children and has collected over $10,000,000. The New York Committee alone has cared for 30,000 children.

Since the bestowal of the Liberty Service Medal upon Mrs. Cofer for her patriotic service by the National Institute of Social Sciences, she has been awarded the Cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the French Government, as well as other tributes of appreciation from France and America.

After two years' service abroad in the United States Army, Harvey Cushing, M.D., has returned to his former active duties including those of the Surgeon-in-Chief at the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston, Mass.

Richard H. Dabney, Ph.D., of the University of Virginia, during the past year, was engaged in delivering several speeches on behalf of the League of Nations.

Frederic Adrian Delano, on April 28, 1919, was decorated with sixty-nine other officers, a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, by the French Government. After being promoted to the rank of Colonel in the Transportation Corps in May, he sailed for America, and was honorably discharged in October, 1919.

George E. deSchweinitz, M.D., professor of Ophthalmology, Graduate School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania (organized October, 1919) and author of "Administrative History of Ophthalmology," Surgeon General's Office for the "Medical History of the War," was elected a member of the Board of Directors in charge of the Red Cross Institute for Blinded Soldiers, Baltimore, Md. He has also been made chairman of a Committee appointed by the three chief Ophthalmic Societies of the United States to arrange for an International Congress of Ophthalmology to be held in the United States.

Dr. deSchweinitz was ordered overseas in October, 1917, to March, 1918, in connection with work relating to Surgery of the Head. During July, 1918, he established and directed for a time the School for Ophthalmic Training, Camp Greenleaf, Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. When honorably discharged on April 1, 1919, Dr. deSchweinitz held the military rank of Lt. Colonel, M.C.; since April 12, 1919, Colonel, M.R.C., United States Army.

The Allied Loyalty League, founded by Mrs. Charles H. Ditson in June, 1919, is rapidly growing and now includes many distinguished men and women among its members.

The object of the League is "to educate public opinion by the persistent swinging of an indicator toward the desired objective—coöperation for the good of the whole—to cement the finest international relationships. The Allied Loyalty League, therefore, plans issuing a news sheet to stimulate and guide efforts to counteract the alarmingly active German propaganda.

"It will serve as a searchlight to show up enemy traps, as a source of information concerning work being done in the

Allied Countries in a spirit of international coöperation, and suggest methods whereby all human endeavor may take on the quality of coöperation—local, state, interstate or international. 'Nothing at all is practicable until it is made so by the will of dauntless men.'"

Miss Blanche Durgin, organizer of the Haversack Club at Camp Dix, N. J., reports that "from contributions which I received in the name of the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, I have established at Stevens Institute of Technology a free Scholarship in perpetuity, in honor of the Haversack dead. This scholarship is to be known as the 'Haversack Scholarship,' and is to be reserved for the use of New Jersey boys. A soldier will be the first scholar."

The Duryea War Relief, Inc., of which Mrs. Nina Larrey Duryea is president, was the first organization for relief in France in 1914, and is still actively at work through many channels. A year ago last December Mrs. Duryea went to Lille, the inhabitants of which had been turned over formally to this organization by the French Government, and there organized and opened a depot of distribution, which, on her return to America was put in charge of Mrs. I. Tucker Burr of Boston, who, with a competent staff, enlarged the scope of work at Lille. Eight free dispensaries were opened and organized, in some cases coöperating with other societies in la Bassée, Perenchies, Hellemmes, Merus, Orchies, Armentières, Wavrin, and in the Faubourg des Postes at Lille. Medical supplies, surgical instruments, free medicines and the services of professional nurses were furnished. Owing to the explosives still remaining in the fields, or concealed by the Germans among ruins, grave accidents frequently occur, for which these dispensaries are the sole succor.

A playground with the aid of the Foyer du Soldat of Lille was organized just outside the city, where over 2,000 children received food and daily care for five weeks.

Mrs. Duryea, realizing the necessity of supplying work from now on through the allied countries to many thousands of people, whose handcrafts previous to the war brought a

greater revenue to France (as statistics prove) than the wheat crop brought to the United States, has become vice-president of a new and remarkable organization—The International Revival of Industrial Arts, of which Mrs. William Alexander is the president and founder.

"The object of the Society is to preserve and encourage the highest type of Industrial Art at home and abroad; and by bringing producer and those interested in their products together to foster and preserve work of the best quality."

In every allied country Mrs. Alexander has already formed committees composed of distinguished and efficient persons, who seek out often humble people having in the past produced vast supplies of useful and beautiful articles. As there is small market for these in Europe and the people do not know how to get in touch with buyers in this country, the New York Committee will bring into touch the buyers here and the producers in Europe from Russia to Morocco. A permanent exhibit will be maintained in New York, where purchasers may find the best examples of furniture, carvings, silver work, leather work, laces, rugs, tapestries, etc., thus saving the cost and time of searching for them throughout Europe.

The Americanization of immigrants will also be furthered. Many of these newcomers to our shores have produced artistic and useful things and in their blood is the inherited love of their art, born of generations before them. When they come to this country, their activities are diverted from these proper and congenial channels. The discontent arising from their distasteful labors in factories and sweat shops breeds bitterness and unrest, resulting in the Bolshevik tendency, which is such a menace to our order and peace.

During the year Professor Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri, issued two books dealing with current problems of social reconstruction. One of the volumes is a revised edition of his book, "The Social Problem: a Reconstructive Analysis," published by the Macmillan Company; the other volume, published by the American Book Company, is a new edition of his text, "Sociology and Modern Social Problems."

In both books, Professor Ellwood strongly combats the doctrines of Bolshevism.

Professor Ellwood has also contributed throughout the year several papers on religious reconstruction to various periodicals, including papers on "Religion and Democracy," in the American Journal of Sociology for March, 1920, and on "The Formation of Public Opinion," in the Religious Education Review for April.

Dr. Haven Emerson was chief of the Division of Epidemiology of the Chief Surgeon's Office, American Expeditionary Forces, during the first half of last year. He continued in the administrative control of communicable diseases among our troops overseas, including among other duties the editing of the weekly bulletin used for educational purposes by the officers of the Medical Department. After completing the chapters on Organization of the Divisions of Sanitation and Epidemiology and an historical review of the incidence of communicable diseases in the American Expeditionary Forces for the Medical History of the World War as directed by the Surgeon General, Dr. Emerson was discharged to civil life.

His efforts were distributed the latter half of 1919 among various lines of public health investigation and education. During a period of metamorphosis, Dr. Emerson, as secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, served on the Committee on Prevention of Tuberculosis.

In October, 1919, he assumed the duties of Professor of Preventive Medicine and Hygiene on the Cornell University Faculty, Ithaca, N. Y., where an innovation in the education of undergraduates in health protection was initiated at the suggestion and with the support of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board of the Federal Government.

At the request of the Cleveland Hospital Council, Dr. Emerson, in November, undertook the direction of the Cleveland Hospital and Health Service. In association with representatives of national organizations devoted to public health protection and with others experienced in the field of medico-social economics, the study of the resources, insufficiencies and requirements of the city of Cleveland is being prosecuted.

Dr. Emerson, after two years' absence, has resumed his

duties as teacher at the New York School of Social Work, and Teachers College, Columbia University, on the subjects of Preventable Diseases and Public Health Administration.

On June 2, 1919, the Honorable John J. Esch of Wisconsin, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, introduced his bill, H.R. 4378, providing for the return of the railroads to private ownership. Hearings on this bill were opened July 15, 1919, and continued to October 4th. As a result of these hearings Mr. Esch on November 8, 1919, introduced H.R. 10453. This bill passed the House November 17th and was sent to conference December 20th. The so-called Esch-Cummins bill resulted. This bill was passed by the House February 21, 1920, by the Senate February 23d and was signed by the President February 28th. From the time of the introduction of H.R. 4378 in June, 1919, to the date of the final passage of the Transportation Act, Mr. Esch worked conscientiously and unremittingly toward the solving of what was considered the largest and most difficult of our reconstruction problems—the return of the railroads to private ownership.

Another matter to which Mr. Esch has devoted his energies is that of water power. For ten years Congress has sought to legislate with a view of developing and at the same time conserving our water power resources, but all such attempts have met with failure. On May 26, 1919, Mr. Esch introduced his bill, H.R. 3184, providing for the creation of a Federal Power Commission and for other purposes. This bill passed the House July 1, 1919, and the Senate January 15, 1920. The President signed the bill after Congress had adjourned, but within the period of ten days after passage by Congress.

Mr. Esch's bill, H.R. 3854, for the repeal of the daylight saving law, passed the House June 18, 1919, and later was added as a rider to the agricultural appropriation bill which was vetoed by the President because of the daylight repeal provisions. On August 19, 1920, H.R. 3854 passed the House over the President's veto and the following day like action was taken in the Senate.

Mr. Esch was also largely instrumental in securing the pas-

sage of the bill restoring the wire systems of the country to their owners after a period of Government control and it was his committee which reported out the so-called Sweet bill liberalizing the War Risk Insurance act.

In February of 1920, the Cross and Red Ribbon of a Knight of the Legion of Honor was bestowed upon Samuel W. Fairchild by Maurice Cazenave, French Minister Plenipotentiary of the French War Finance and Economic Special Missions in the United States. The French Government awarded Mr. Fairchild this honor in recognition of services rendered as chairman of the Committee of Trade and Commerce of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, vice-president of the French-American Chamber of Commerce, and director of the France-America Society.

On April 1, 1919, James L. Fieser was called from his post as Director of Civilian Relief for the Red Cross in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, to become Associate Director-General of the Civilian Relief Department at Washington. Mr. Fieser, on December 17, 1919, was advanced to the position of Assistant General Manager of the Red Cross and made responsible for organization plans for unifying the programs of the several service departments of the Red Cross, including health activities, nursing, civilian relief, home service and junior work.

Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, in 1919, completed his autobiography, a volume of seven hundred pages entitled: "From Midshipman to Rear Admiral: or Forty-nine Years in the Navy." His latest book, "The Art of Fighting" (Century Co.), was published in April.

At the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, held in New Orleans, October 27, 1919, Lee K. Frankel, Ph.D., president for 1919, delivered the presidential address, which later appeared in the November issue of the *American Journal of Public Health.*

As president of the Mercy Committee for 1919, Mrs. Charles D. Freeman's activities were confined to the relief of the disabled men quartered in United States Army General Hospital No. 3, located on Middlesex Farm, Iselin, New Jersey. Besides contributing to the equipment of the hospital, and providing surgical and other supplies, the Committee maintained the Hostess House and Canteen for the patients and their friends.

The hospital was closed late in October, since which date the Mercy Committee has devoted its time to assisting the recently organized New Jersey State Commission for the rehabilitation of men and women injured in industrial occupations or who may be otherwise physically handicapped. A clinic has been opened at Newark, New Jersey, provided with equipment for the operating room, laboratory and examining ward. The Mercy Committee is including the rehabilitation of civilians as a part of its program in connection with the regular emergency work.

At the annual meetings of the various national botanical societies, held at St. Louis last December, the Ecological Society of America arranged to establish a new botanical magazine with the title *Ecology*. The journal will be the official organ of the Society, and will be devoted to ecology in its broadest sense, including the relation of both plants and animals to their environment. It will be published quarterly in coöperation with the Ecological Society, by the Brooklyn Botanic Garden, of which Dr. C. Stuart Gager is the director. Dr. Gager will act as the business manager. The *American Journal of Botany,* official organ of the Botanical Society of America, is also published by the Brooklyn Botanic Garden in coöperation with the Botanical Society.

As a member of a committee formed by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, LL.D., Dean of Barnard College, was active in bringing to this country certain French girls to study in American colleges and universities, and in arranging a committee to receive them and look out for them as they passed through New York.

In the spring of 1919, in response to suggestions from many parts of the country, she organized a committee to establish a fellowship in memory of Rose Sidgwick of the British Educational Mission to this country, who died in New York City, on December 28, 1918, at the end of her tour of American colleges and universities. The purpose of the fellowship was to make closer the bonds of friendship and understanding between England and America, and to commemorate the services of Miss Sidgwick in this cause. The present holder of the fellowship is Miss Gladys Boone, from the University of Birmingham.

As chairman of a Committee on International Relations of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, enlarged by representatives from the Southern Association of College Women, alumnæ organizations of various women's colleges and coeducational universities, and alumnæ clubs, Dean Gildersleeve attended meetings of the Federation of University Women of Great Britain in London in July, and helped to form an International Federation of University Women, which the university women of Canada, Sweden and Peru are expected to join in the near future, and which, it is hoped, will eventually include the university women of all countries. The American Committee on International Relations secured from the Commonwealth Fund money to bring three distinguished English women to lecture in this country this winter to arouse interest in the idea of the International Federation of University Women.

The French Government has conferred upon Dean Gildersleeve the Decoration of "Officier de l'Instruction Publique."

For the past months, William Gillette has appeared with great success in Sir Barrie's play, "Dear Brutus," in New York and throughout the country.

During 1919, Dr. Hollis Godfrey as president of the Technology Clubs Associated, a graduate body of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, worked on the plan which was presented at the Philadelphia Convention early in 1920.

This plan may be briefly summarized as follows:

It proposes to meet the existing serious shortage of management men, the creation of a new branch of education—management education—which from its very nature must be undertaken jointly by industry and by the school. And proposes as the first step towards obtaining the management education which will produce the quantity and quality of management men from the college (one of the two sources of management men) needed by industry, the creation of a new organization, an industrial council for coöperation with the colleges, to care for industry's part of the work, the selection of the American Council on Education as the agency to care for the colleges' part of the work, and the establishing of a coöperative committee from both bodies to care for the mutual problems of the two.

Dr. Godfrey had realized the need for this work while chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and as president of The Drexel Institute.

The enthusiastic acceptance of the Technology Plan by representatives of industry throughout the country served to emphasize this great lack of personnel trained to meet specialized demands, and at the same time, has indicated a way in which all educational institutions can coöperate, and thus insure a future supply to carry on the world's work.

At a convocation held at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada, during October, at which a lengthy programme was discussed to better coöperate the colleges and industries, not only of Canada but of the British Empire, Dr. Godfrey was one of those asked to represent the United States. Queen's at that time also did him the honor to confer on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

At the time of the Pan American financial conference, Dr. Godfrey was appointed technical advisor to Peru by Secretary Glass. This conference particularly emphasized the lack of trained men in South America and Dr. Godfrey provided much valuable data concerning man-power shortage in the management group. This appointment has recently been made permanent.

During 1919, the Reverend H. H. Gowen, D.D., of the University of Washington, was made Associate Editor of the

Anglican Theological Review, Columbia Press, and elected to membership in the Society of Oriental Research, Chicago, and the American Oriental Society.

Dr. Gowen published in 1919, "The Book of the Seven Blessings"; "The Napoleon of the Pacific," which is the story of Kamehameha the Great, of Hawaii, the centenary of whose death has recently been observed. Special articles contributed by Dr. Gowen are "The Centenary of Kamehameha the Great," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* April, 1919; "The Old Testament and Comparative Religion," *American Church Monthly,* November, 1919, and "The Eschatology of the Old Testament," *Anglican Theological Review,* December, 1919.

Mr. Jerome D. Greene served from January, 1918, to January, 1919, as Executive Secretary of the American Section of the Allied Maritime Transport Council, London. He was appointed in January, 1919, Secretary to the American delegates on the Reparations Commission at the Peace Conference in Paris; later, elected Joint Secretary of the Reparations Commission. In July, 1918, Mr. Greene served as Arbitrator between British and French Governments to decide a difference as to the interpretation of an international shipping agreement.

He was appointed in July, 1919, Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur by the French Government.

The premier performance of "Cleopatra's Night" by Henry Hadley took place in January, 1920, at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City. Mr. Hadley conducted "Cleopatra's Night" on March 3d. He was invited to be the guest conductor at the performance of his Symphonie, the "Four Seasons," with the New York Philharmonic. On March 9, Mr. Hadley was the guest conductor for his Overture "Othello" with the Philadelphia Orchestra at Carnegie Hall. The Overture was also played on April 8 and 9 by the Boston Symphony.

Dr. Samuel W. Halley, Edward W. Hines and Frederic M. Sackett, of Louisville, Ky., are serving without compensation

on the new non-partisan Board of Control of the Kentucky Charitable and Penal Institutions, having been named by the newly elected Governor of Kentucky, Governor Edwin P. Morrow.

Charles H. Hamill reports that he is a delegate to the Illinois Constitutional Convention, representing District Twenty-ninth, a member of the Committee on Rules and Future Amendments of the Constitution, and Chairman of the Committee on Phraseology and Style.

In May, 1919, Mrs. John Henry Hammond was elected president of the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association. Mrs. Hammond has been for fifteen years president of the Three Arts Club of New York City.

In July, 1917, by request of the Governor and the State Council of Defense of the State of West Virginia, H. Hastings Hart, LL.D., director of the Department of Child-Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, undertook a study of the social agencies and institutions of the state in order to aid them in meeting the social conditions created by the war. As a result of this study, he received similar invitations from governors and state councils of defense or state boards of charities or other public agents from the states of Florida, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. The first four of these studies were published and resulted in important legislation and executive action in each of the states named. For example: In West Virginia the child welfare work of the state was re-organized as a war measure and a state board of children's guardians was created. In South Carolina important legislation was enacted affecting public institutions of the state. A movement was started for the adequate equipment of certain private institutions and, on Dr. Hart's recommendation, the Liberty Service Medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences was conferred upon the War Governor, Richard I. Manning, whose five sons were enlisted for service in the war.

In Florida radical improvements were made in several state institutions. In Alabama it was found that the public

institutions and social movements generally were being retarded because of an inadequate system of taxation.

As a result of the study, the tax laws were re-organized; revenues of the state were greatly increased; adequate appropriations were made for the public institutions and new institutions were created for the feeble-minded; the State Board of Child Welfare was established; the appropriations for the State Board of Health were increased from $28,000 to $150,000 per year and a constitutional amendment was submitted to provide $25,000,000 for good roads.

George A. Hastings, assistant secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, has delivered fifty lectures during the season, on "Current Events" in the free series of public lectures under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education. They were given at Cooper Union, Hunter College, and various public schools. Special attention was devoted to the problems of Americanization as reflected in public events from week to week.

Miss Malvina Hoffman in December, 1918, founded the American Jugo-Slav Relief Committee, which has sent over $325,000 to help feed the debilitated children of Jugo-Slavia to January, 1920.

In May, 1919, she went to Paris to close the activities of the War Relief Fund, Appui Aux Artistes, of which she was treasurer for four years.

Miss Hoffman visited Jugo-Slavia and Greece in August, 1919, on a mission for Mr. Hoover and the American Red Cross. On her return to Paris in September, she was present at the unveiling in the Luxembourg Museum Gardens of her life-size group "Bacchanale," which was presented to France by H. G. Dalton of Cleveland, Ohio.

Miss Hoffman's work during the past year includes: "Column of Life" (marble); "Offrande" (marble); and portraits of Boris Anisfeld (Russian painter); Colonel P. Bunau-Varilla (French engineer); General Sir David Henderson (Director of League of Red Cross Societies, Geneva); John Muir (naturalist) and the late Henry C. Frick.

In the early part of 1920, the French Government conferred upon Hamilton Holt, editor of *The Independent,* the order of "Officier de l'Instruction Publique" for promoting, during the war, better relations between France and the United States. Mr. Holt has also received decorations from the Emperor of Japan and the King of Greece.

Miss Winifred Holt, during the winter of 1920, has been busy in Rome, establishing a Lighthouse for the Italian Blind, both soldier and civilian, of whom there are 43,000. This will make the eighth Lighthouse established by Miss Holt.

The first two lighthouses, No. 1, in New York, and No. 2, in Buffalo, had been in working order for seven years when Belgium was invaded and men throughout Europe began to be blinded in battle. Since then the Phare de France was opened in Paris and four new branches established—one at Bordeaux, one at Sèvres, one at Neuilly-Plaisance and one at Vichy.

At the Phare de Bordeaux the men are principally busy with vocational work: the making of brushes, baskets, chair-caning, gardening, etc. At the Phare de Sèvres the men make the great pieces of pottery, which are used in the Government Munition Factories. The Phare de Neuilly is a charming villa, where the unmarried men who work in the Electric Company can live in comfort, and the Phare de Vichy is used for the wounded of the hospital who are blind. Those in the employ of the Government potteries at the Phare de Sèvres receive the same salary as the men who see. The Phare de France at Paris is the center of the work among the blind. It is there that the greatest variety of subjects and occupations are taught, and the more intellectual men are trained. It is there that the Braille Printing Press is established, which has turned out hundreds of books. The Braille paper, *La Lumière,* appears twice a month. Another important feature of the press is the printing of music. This is very valuable, as the latest war songs and popular music can now be had by the blind, who want them even more than do the soldiers who can see.

The Phares have come in touch with one hundred and seventy blind men each day. There are fifty-two pupils now in course of reëducation at the Phare de France and about three thousand lessons are given monthly during the school course. The Committee has given away over twelve thousand articles of the most varied kinds, including coal, wood, blankets, bedding, furniture, crockery, etc., for furnishing homes for the blind; medicine, bandages, clothes, uniforms, flowers, candy, tobacco pouches, tobacco, rent, land, houses. Also tools, writing appliances and paper, Hall Braille Writers, typewriters, knitting machines, wool, silk, looms, and artificial limbs.

George W. Hunter, Ph.D., after leaving his position with the War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A., moved to Northfield, Minnesota, where he occupies a position as Professor of Biology in Carleton College. Dr. Hunter's chief social scientific interest at present is in Social Hygiene. Some interesting pioneer work is being accomplished along this line.

Dr. Hunter has also been working for the past three years on a series of books intended to meet the needs of the junior high school in science. The series will be called "Civic Science" and will deal with the science of the home and of the community. The object of the book is to make young people better thinking citizens.

Professor Dugald C. Jackson, during the first four months of 1919, was in France in the United States Army with the commission of Lt. Colonel of Engineers, and was also Chief Engineer of the Board called "War Damages in Allied Countries." His duties consisted of estimating the physical damages caused by the ravages of war in the allied countries.

During 1918, Professor Jackson served as Chief Engineer on a board having charge of the coördination and procurement of mechanical and electrical power service for the great industrial enterprises of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Professor Jackson, upon returning to the United States in May, 1919, immediately resumed his duties as professor of Electrical Engineering in charge of the department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has devoted a

large proportion of his time toward the reconstruction of the department for its renewed peace basis.

During the summer of 1919, Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins added a new building as a personal gift to the Serbian Home, 443 West 22nd Street, New York City, where the Serb Federation "Sloga" and the Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are located. The Serbian Home is a center of information for all Jugoslavs in the City of New York and vicinity. Seven societies hold meetings in its large hall where dances for young people are given every two weeks.

The Serb Federation "Sloga," an organization of Serb origin, was brought to the United States in October, 1909, and for two years occupied the rear parlor floor of the home of the Slavonic Immigrant Society. In July, 1911, Mrs. Jenkins gave to the Educational and Benevolent Fund of the Serb Federation a building, including all necessary office furniture, one printing plant for the printing of the official organ *Srbobran* and quarters for employees of the Federation. She also created the Serbo-American Ecclesiastical Fund, for distribution among the Serb schools and churches in the United States.

During the war, thousands of Slavs passing through New York on their way to join the Allies, were welcomed in the Slavonic Immigrant Home which was donated by Mrs. Jenkins in 1909 to the Slavonic Immigrant Society. When the immigration laws are changed, the Slavonic Immigrant Home will have a greater opportunity to offer its valuable services to the Slavonic immigrants arriving in this country.

Emory R. Johnson, M.L., Ph.D., Sc.D., President of the National Institute, became Dean of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania in September, 1919. He is the senior Professor in that school, having held the chair of Transportation and Commerce from 1893 to the present. The school has a student enrollment of over two thousand and a Faculty of one hundred and twenty-five, and the administration of its affairs require the larger part of Dr. Johnson's time.

During the summer and fall of 1919 Dr. Johnson gave such time as he could spare to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington, his work being devoted primarily to problems connected with pending railroad legislation. As a member of the Railroad Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, he has assisted in the preparation and drafting of the reports and memoranda on railroad legislation that have been issued by the Chamber.

David Starr Jordan, LL.D., Chancellor Emeritus, Stanford University, devoted a greater part of last year to his autobiography.

Dr. Jordan has also been engaged in a scientific study of the fossil fishes of Southern California, largely on Miocene fishes at El Modena and near Los Angeles. A magnificent deposit has been found at Lompoc in Santa Barbara County, the fish embedded in the masses of diatoms, which at this point have a depth of fourteen hundred feet. From this deposit, he has described twenty-five new species, and about forty-five from the scattered deposits farther south, where to this time, nothing has been known of the Miocene fishes. About sixty species of sharks' teeth have been found along the Atlantic coast, and about ten species of bony fish. One hundred or so bony fish have been found in the Miocene rocks in Europe, most of these being herring. In this collection for the first time, we have a clear view of the Miocene fish fauna. It is quite similar to the fauna of the present time in California, the families being mostly the same, the genera different. We have forms present at Lompoc which have come through the Isthmus, open at that time, and which have since disappeared from the Pacific Coast.

In this same year, Dr. Jordan completed a work called "The Genera of Fishes," giving reference to all of the eight thousand or so of generic names thus far proposed for fishes of the world. In connection with one of his students, Carl L. Hubbs, he has published a monographic review of the fishes of the group called silversides, or Fishes of the King (Atherinidæ), found throughout the whole world.

Robert L. Kelly, LL.D., on November 1, 1919, was decorated by M. Casenave, Minister Plenipotentiary in charge of the French High Commission, with title: Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The citation reads: "For assistance rendered to the French cause and particularly to the young French students placed in American colleges and universities."

Dr. Kelly is director of American Educational Division of the Interchurch World Movement, conducting a survey of one thousand seven hundred American educational institutions with a view of assisting them in the work of training American leaders. The approved budget of the American Educational Department for the next five years totals $400,000,000, most of which is to be put into endowments to increase salaries of college professors.

Dr. Vernon L. Kellogg, who was assistant to Herbert C. Hoover in the work of Belgian relief and American Food Administration, continued his association with Mr. Hoover in the American Relief Administration which was active in the relief of the liberated nations of Eastern Europe during the armistice period. Dr. Kellogg was head of Mr. Hoover's first food mission to Poland and, with Dr. Alonzo Taylor, made the first personal investigation of the food situation in Germany after the armistice.

Clarence D. Kingsley, supervisor of High Schools, Boston, Mass., continued his work as chairman of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education appointed by the National Education Association. This Commission has now issued ten reports. The last two were completed during the year 1919: "Business Education in Secondary Schools" and "The Problem of Mathematics in Secondary Education."

George J. Kneeland was director of the Bureau of Service of the War Camp Community Service, New York City, from September 1, 1918, to March 1, 1919. Since that time he has been connected with the New York County Chapter, American Red Cross.

During 1919, Mr. Morris Knowles, Chief Engineer of Morris Knowles Incorporated, Pittsburgh, Penna., completed his work as Chief Engineer of the Housing Division of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, where his duties included supervision of engineering on about 30 industrial towns for the Ship Yard workers.

Papers read by Mr. Knowles in 1919 include "Economic Design of Street Improvements as Related to the Size of Lots in Residential Districts of Industrial Communities," "Engineering Problems of Regional Planning," "Housing for Shipbuilders," "The Trend of Prices After the War and the Cost of Reproduction," "New Specifications for Health Officers," and "Consideration of Property not Used and Useful in Rate Making Valuations."

H. E. Krehbiel's latest contribution to literature is entitled: "More Chapters of Opera," published in December, 1919, (Henry Holt & Co.). The English version of Wagner's "Parsifal," by Mr. Krehbiel, was presented for the first time, February 19, 1920, at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Miss Alice. Lakey is the present owner and manager of *Insurance*, which came into her hands through the death of her father, on August 24, 1919. This weekly publication, established by Mr. Charles D. Lakey in 1883, is devoted to the interests of insurance.

Miss Lakey, in April, 1919, was reëlected president of the Cranford Village Improvement Association, and is again the nominee for the coming year. At its last annual meeting, Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, founder of the National Institute of Social Sciences, was present to bestow the medals, awarded by the New Jersey State Liberty Medal Committee of the Institute, for patriotic services rendered during the Great War in that State.

Liberty Service Medals to

Charles Lathrop Pack, LL.D.
Mrs. H. Otto Wittpenn

Patriotic Medals to
Mrs. Robert A. Franks
Mrs. Charles D. Freeman

A Patriotic Service Medal was also awarded to Miss Blanche Durgin and was presented to her by Miss Lakey, chairman of the New Jersey State Medal Committee, January 29, 1920, at a meeting of the Seventh District of the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Newark, N. J.

Mr. Brown Landone, who in 1917 completed the work of editing the seven volumes entitled "Civilization: An Appreciation of European Science, Scholarship and Art," has since that time been carrying on an investigation in a new field of sociological psychology,—the psychology of the action group. A volume treating of this subject is in press. It is entitled: "Soviet and Democratic Methods of Operation."

In this study, two vital differences between the social means of operation of the soviet and democratic systems respectively, are pointed out. The democratic system uses the small group as an action group and the larger group,—that is, the mass group including the community, the city or the nation—as a discussion or idea unit. Soviet operation reverses this process. It seeks to obtain the ends it desires by making the large mass unit of direct action and the small group the unit of discussion. From examples drawn from the operation of all forms of society in all ages, Mr. Brown Landone shows that whenever the small unit attempts to function as a discussion unit, it destroys itself. Also that when the large mass or crowd attempts direct action it destroys that which it desires to obtain. He holds that the comparison of the Soviet system of operation to the New England town meeting is not a just parallel. The town meeting is a mass group of the community,—an idea unit of society, a discussion unit. It does not, however, attempt to function as an action unit. It chooses a town board as its small group of action.

Mr. Adolph Lewisohn has been engaged in a number of activities during the year and in many cases the work has

been successful and productive of good results. He has, together with several of the other directors of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum at Pleasantville, N. Y., been active in conducting the work of that institution. This is a model child-caring institution which looks after dependent children on the cottage plan in the country. A little over a year ago the services of Dr. Leon W. Goldrich, as executive director, were secured in place of Dr. L. B. Bernstein, who had been its superintendent for about fifteen years. Dr. Bernstein is now giving his services in other important welfare work, namely, as executive director of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, of which Mr. Lewisohn is chairman, and has achieved very good results in that capacity. Dr. Goldrich has performed splendid work in conducting the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum and the Boys and Girls Republic, now called the "Lewisohn Democracy." The health and physical condition of the children in the Pleasantville institution have been excellent; in fact, there has not been a single case of serious illness among the six hundred children within the year. The graduates, upon leaving the institution at the age of sixteen, are well fitted for life. The Fellowship House, which has charge of the after-care work, looks after the children when they leave the institution and has been very successful in finding suitable employment for them.

The training which the children receive at the Hebrew Technical School, of which Mr. Lewisohn is president, enables them to greatly increase their earning capacity. Reporting graduates, numbering 3,329, are earning $3,386,240 annually. The children improve in health, education and character during their two years' course at this school.

Important scientific discoveries have been made during the year in the new Pathological Laboratory of Mt. Sinai Hospital, the building and equipment of which were donated by Mr. Lewisohn.

The Stadium, which he gave to the City College, was constantly used in the College session for athletic and other exercises, and in the winter for skating. In the summer, evening concerts, rendering high class music, were given in the Stadium at a nominal charge, thus enabling a large number of

people to enjoy good music in the open air amid pleasant surroundings.

The School of Mines, donated by Mr. Lewisohn to Columbia University some years ago, continued its activities during 1919.

As president of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, Mr. Lewisohn has brought about a great improvement in that important work extending throughout the United States. He was appointed by Governor Smith, Chairman of the Prison Survey Committee, which has made a thorough study and investigation of all the prisons of the State.

Mr. Lewisohn has also been actively connected with the New Symphony Orchestra (now the National Symphony Orchestra), whose purpose is to furnish the highest grade of music to the music-loving public. Under Arthur Bodanzky, its conductor, the orchestra has enjoyed a most successful season. Mr. Clarence Mackay and others have joined Mr. Lewisohn in liberally supporting this musical undertaking.

George E. MacLean, LL.D., now in London, reports as his activities during 1919: The American University Union in Europe was originally a war emergency organization, but has been reorganized as a Peace Agency to interrelate the universities on both sides of the Atlantic.

He was appointed director of the British Division of the Union, having an office at 50 Russell Square, where are also located the offices of the University Bureau of the British Empire and the National des Universites et Ecoles Françaises.

Here is the beginning of an International Clearing House for University information and advice, including a library containing the latest literature about the universities. The Alumni Professors and students of American Universities will find a headquarters, at which they may register upon their arrival in London, and secure introductions to learned institutions.

Miss Elizabeth Marbury first entered the political arena when she actively campaigned for the election of Alfred E. Smith as Governor of the State of New York. She is a

member of the Women's Democratic Club of New York City, and of the Women's Democratic Political League. She is the first vice-president of the League of Catholic Women; a member of the Executive Committee of the Diocesan National Catholic War Council; a member of the New York and New Jersey Section of the Women's Department of the National Civic Federation; was elected vice-president for this State of the National, Business and Professional Women's Federation; chairman of the Milk for Children of America Committee, and was recently appointed by the Hon. Homer S. Cummings as one of the Executive Committee of the National Democratic Party.

During the recent War, Miss Marbury was an active member of Mayor Hylan's Woman's Committee on National Defense, and she continues to serve on the Mayor's present Woman's Committee, being especially active in the work of Americanization.

In June 1919, she was designated by the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, to carry abroad to our men not yet demobilized, the message of home building and of farm making. At the same time, under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus, she traveled over five thousand miles, visiting every center from Brest to Coblentz where our troops were still massed and speaking many times to thousands who gathered to hear her.

Miss Marbury has been decorated by France, Belgium and Italy, also by our War Veterans, and enjoys the proud distinction of being the only woman who has been honored by receiving the Knights of Columbus Gold Service Medal.

Miss Lena McGhee, in speaking of the little child-mothers at St. Faith's House, Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson, among whom her noble work has lain for many years, says: "As one of these children stands before us, she is physically, mentally, morally and spiritually, a pitiful distortion of all that God would have a child of her age to be, from the often overstrained eyes to the poor malformed feet. Reconstruction work begins at once. Simple lessons in sanitation, hygiene and the care of babies, which are given by the nurse, are often much appreciated. Teaching in housework, cooking,

sewing and laundry work meet with various receptions, and often require a good deal of patience on the part of a very patient and thorough factotum."

The causes suggested by Miss McGhee for all the distressing conditions among these child-mothers are:

1. First of all is the appalling ignorance of both boys and girls on the subject of personal honor.
2. The unprotected home. The increase of woman's work in the outside world has resulted in leaving an unprotected home to which the girl returns after school hours.
3. The carelessness with which young girls are thrown into, or accept, through ignorance, any kind of position for work in which they are wholly unprotected.

During the past year Dr. N. E. McIndoo, Insect Physiologist Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., has published the following four articles: (1) The olfactory sense of lepidopterous larvæ; olfactory organs of caterpillars are described for the first time, and it is shown that caterpillars have a sense of smell; this work opens a new field in chemotaxis. (2) The olfactory sense of Orthoptera; olfactory organs, widely distributed over the bodies and appendages of roaches, grasshoppers and crickets are described for the first time and many experiments were performed. (3) Derris (an East Indies fish poison) as an insecticide; this plant proved to be a good poison for controlling insects, and demands for it are gradually increasing in this country and also in Canada. (4) A comparative study of the arsenicals as insecticides; this paper deals with a study of their relative toxicity and a few new arsenic compounds were made and tested.

For the eleventh consecutive year The Mountaineers, the Alpine Club of the State of Washington, elected as president Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History, University of Washington. His long continued activity in that organization has resulted in membership in the American Alpine Club, the National Parks Association, the Natural Parks Association

(State of Washington), and requests for coöperation in other enterprises to save and use the beauty and wealth of mountains.

Ernest C. Moore, LL.D., who is responsible for the organization of the Southern Branch of the University of California at Los Angeles, Cal., has recently published: "What the War Teaches About Education." Dr. Moore also organized a Better Community Conference whose eleven sections met in Los Angeles, December 19, 20 and 21, 1919. During the year, the French Government conferred upon Dr. Moore the Decoration of Officer d'Académié.

Dr. Rosalie S. Morton, who returned from Serbia early in 1920, reports as her most important activities while abroad: the founding of three hospitals—Virginia Hospital for Women and Children, Belgrade, Crown Prince Alexander Hospital for Tuberculosis, American Jugo-Slav Volunteers Hospital, Gospic—with two hundred beds each and all necessary equipment, and medical supplies for one year; enabling sixty Serbian students to come to America to study for four years; providing for twenty-nine Serbian orphans in Serbia for one year, and the establishing of two agricultural kindergartens in Gratchinitza, Kosovo and Nish. Her war services during the past four years were rendered without remuneration, Dr. Morton paying all expenses.

On January 1, 1920, Grayson M. P. Murphy became president of the Foreign Commerce Corporation of America, formed and owned by J. P. Morgan & Company.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, in 1919, made several addresses on the aims of the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association, which has undertaken to restore and perpetuate Theodore Roosevelt's birthplace. She addressed the conventions of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs at Elmira, two of the New York City Federation, and also Cornell University, where she gave an address on the aims and pur-

poses of the Consumers' League, under the auspices of the College branch of the State Consumers' League.

In March, 1919, Mrs. Nathan was a delegate from the New York State Woman Suffrage League to the National Convention held in St. Louis. The title was adopted: "The League of Women Voters" as suggested by Mrs. Nathan for the new organization, developing from the old organization.

Thomas H. Norton, Sc.D., who since 1917 has been engaged in private work as Consulting Chemist and connected with the duPont Company in charge of dyestuff patents, delivered an address, entitled: "Some Aspects of the Establishment of the American Dyestuffs Industry" before the Dye Section of the American Chemical Society, Philadelphia Meeting, September, 1919. Commenting on the outlook for the future, Dr. Norton states: "Of one thing we may be tolerably certain and that is that by the middle of this century, the contributions of American technical laboratories to the advancement of coal-tar color chemistry will compare favorably with those of the other industrial nations."

Among Dr. Norton's important publications are "American Sources of Potash," "Tanning Materials for Latin America," "Dyestuffs for American Textile and Other Industries" and "Artificial Dyestuffs used in 1913-1914" (more popularly known as the "Dyestuff Census"). This last was regarded as the most important single factor in enabling the young American dyestuff industry effectively to shape its plans for expansion.

Frank W. Noxon, secretary of the Railway Business Association, national organization of manufacturing, mercantile and engineering concerns selling goods or services to steam railways, was engaged during 1919 and 1920 in facilitating exchange of opinion among business men and business organizations for the purpose of unifying opinion upon federal railway legislation.

Mrs. Teresa R. O'Donohue, president of the League of Catholic Women, and who has been engaged in charity work

for over twenty years, is directing her efforts at present toward social and welfare work in New York City, Americanization among Foreigners and Vocational Guidance in the Parochial Schools.

Charles Lathrop Pack, LL.D., is the organizer and president of the National War Garden Commission which ended its war emergency work and was dissolved on June 1, 1919. It had aided and inspired in the planting and production of 5,275,000 war gardens which raised food valued at $1,250,000,000. The Commission also vastly increased the canning and drying of vegetables and fruits.

Mr. Pack, following the ending of the Commission's work, devoted his energies to the American Forestry Association, Washington, D. C., of which he has been president for some years. He vigorously urged the need of a national forest policy to perpetuate our forests and provide a timber supply for the future. After a widespread educational campaign, the American Forestry Association, at its annual meeting, declared itself in favor of a material increase in Federal and State legislation which, through forest fire control, public education, the arrest of denudation and promotion of conservative cutting, more equitable tax laws and adequate insurance of forest investments, shall provide for the perpetuation of our forests and assure a timber supply for our future needs as well as forests for the protection of watersheds and for purposes of recreation and public benefit.

Mr. Pack was awarded the Great Medal, National War Garden Commission (1919); Grand Medal of Honor, Nationale Societe d'Acclimatation de France; French decoration La Merite Agricole (1919) and the Liberty Service Medal, National Institute of Social Sciences (1919).

Professor William Lyon Phelps' latest contribution to literature is "Reading the Bible," published in 1919 by the Macmillan Co.

A number of papers have been published by Professor W. H. Pickering during the past year, among which may be

mentioned his Report No. 22 to the Associated Observers of Mars; two more papers on the Distance of the Orion Nebula, an effort to synchronize our knowledge of Astronomy and Geology, and explain the former conditions known to exist within the polar circle; a paper containing various suggestions regarding Stellar Evolution and Planetary Genesis; several papers on Meteors and Meteorites; a non-technical paper on the Origin of the Lunar Formations, and one indicating the existence at the present time of Vegetation on the Moon.

In a report covering a period of two years, from December, 1917, to December, 1919, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton has given a complete history of Le Bien-Etre du Blessé Woman's Motor Unit, New York Women's City Club, of which she is chairman and organizer.

"The little fleet of eight Ford Camionettes," she says, "organized and operated entirely by women, traveled thousands of miles: carried tons of food and comforts to the wounded—during the first months to the Emergency and Field, and, later, to the Base Hospitals; kept open the doors of several Hospitals by its service, when the break-down of the French Transport system was at its worst; undoubtedly saved hundreds, and alleviated the sufferings of thousands, of French soldiers, and of many Americans, wounded in the Great War."

The French Government conferred upon Mrs. Seton two decorations,—the médaille d'honneur en vermeil and the médaille de reconnaissance nationale française, première classe.

Dr. Harlow Shapley of the Mount Wilson Observatory has been elected an Associate of the Royal Astronomical Society of England in recognition of his work on the problem of the structure of the sidereal universe. In April, 1920, upon invitation of the National Academy of Sciences, he delivered an address entitled "The Scale of the Universe" at the annual meeting held in Washington.

Mrs. James Speyer, president of the New York Women's League for Animals, says, "It has been the banner year in

my work for the New York Women's League for Animals We maintained our Free Hospital for Animals and turned away none who sought our help or advice, giving special attention to animals of poor peddlers and hucksters, whose living for themselves and their families depend on the well-being of the horse. I was instrumental in reviving a moribund S. P. C. A. at Santa Barbara, California, where I spent part of last summer, and started a flourishing work for animals in that city."

As a member of the American Committee, Mrs. Speyer has been actively engaged in collecting funds to aid the children of Vienna who are in great need of food.

During my ten years of work in the regions north of the arctic circle, Vilhjalmur Stefansson has become convinced of the great potential value of that country for meat production. All students of the food supply of the world know that if we are mercifully free during the next fifty years from wars and severe pestilence, and if the course of nature continues about as it did for the fifty years preceding the Great War, the world is face to face with the proposition of either becoming vegetarian or finding some new source of flesh food.

Mr. Stefansson states that the ocean, as a source of food, has as yet been practically untouched, and in utilizing its products we are bound by far narrower restrictions of prejudice than in any other department of food. It is true both of land animals and of those that live in the sea that the flesh of those considered unfit for food is as palatable, nourishing, and wholesome on the average as of the group considered fit for food. There is this difference, however, that while we are restricted by various taboos from eating about half of the animals of the land, we are restricted from eating probably over 90 per cent of the things that live in the sea for the same reasons. But it happens that there are one or two animals against the flesh of which there is no prejudice and where both the meat and by-products even now command as high a price or higher than those of the ordinary domestic animals. The chief of these in present importance is the reindeer, although others will gradually come into the field. The reindeer can be cultivated in the north at no more expense than is necessary for cultivating

cattle in the tropics. No barns are necessary for shelter; nor hay or other preserved foods are needed to supplement what the animals can secure for themselves. They need protection only from bacteria and wolves. So far as bacteria are concerned, reindeer are much better off than cattle in southerly lands, and the problem of the wolf is not serious. Vegetation is so abundant in the Far North that on the average more pounds of meat can be produced to the square mile on the vast northern prairies than can be produced through the cultivation of either sheep or cattle on the semi-arid grazing lands of the tropic or temperate zones.

Nothing but ignorance of geographic facts prevents the world from immediately developing for meat production about 150,000 square miles of northern Alaska, 1,500,000 square miles of northern Canada, and more than 5,000,000 square miles of northern Asia and Europe. Mr. Stefansson's main task during the last year has been to awaken the world, and especially Canada, to this new source of food which needs nothing but a change of mind to make it available. He has so far succeeded that a Royal Commission has been appointed in Ottawa to formulate a plan upon which the Government or private individuals may enter for the production of reindeer in the North. This is all as yet in the inquiry stage, but he feels certain that within ten years it will be known to all that one of the main sources, if not the main source, of the meat supply of the world is in the lands which have commonly been supposed to be of no value because they were thought to be barren, where, as a matter of fact, they are fruitful; and ice-covered eternally, where, as a matter of fact, they are never covered with ice, and, like the normal country you are used to, have snow in winter and grass in summer.

Greenland is the one ice-covered land in the North. Curiously enough, this is the only northern country, the description of which, has penetrated into the folk-lore, fiction, school books, and books of popular information, with a result that we have about as accurate an idea of the nature of the whole North from this description of Greenland, as we would get of the nature of the whole of California from a truthful account of Mount Shasta.

Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim in February, 1920, addressed the National Conference on Rural Schools, at Cedar Falls, Ia., on the subject: "Relation of Health to Education," speaking as the official representative of the National Tuberculosis Association. He has delivered numerous public addresses and lectures throughout the country, including the presidential address before the members of the Sociological Club of Sioux City, entitled: "The After-Maths of War and the Challenge to the Future." For the fourth consecutive year, Rabbi Sternheim has been elected president of the Club. He is a firm believer in exchange of pulpits as a means of promoting religious fellowship and comity and has occupied the pulpits of a large number of the Christian churches of Sioux City and surrounding cities, as well as all over the United States.

Frederick G. Swanson of Wichita Falls, Texas, is an active advocate of open diplomacy in promotion enterprises and of the amendment of Blue Sky Laws to require certification from officers of organization in process of promotion as to commissions and promotion expenses paid, and purposes for which funds received will be used. In connection with activities of the Oil Investors Association, Mr. Swanson secured establishment by the Railroad Commission of Texas, of offset rule, preventing the reckless drilling on small lots that characterized the Burkburnett Townsite operations. Mr. Swanson lays blame for much of promotion fakes on lack of practicable use of the public schools for dissemination of general information and urges that salaries of teachers should be largely increased and requirements added of industrial or commercial experience, as well as scholastic degrees, as the best reconstruction policy. He has during past years been most prominently active along these lines and, in addition, has inaugurated with others, an Open Forum in the City of Wichita Falls in which these activities have in part been handled.

In the spring of 1919 Edward L. Thorndike, Ph.D., was requested by the Faculty of Columbia University to prepare an intelligence examination to be used as an alternative for the

ordinary scholastic examinations for admission to Columbia University. The examination was used with the entering class in June and September and the results so far seem eminently satisfactory. This examination has been used for admission and other purposes in a score or more of American colleges and professional schools.

During the past year Dr. Edward L. Thorndike has served on the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council and on the special committee charged with the preparation of the National Intelligence Tests for children nine to fifteen years of age.

At the Botanists' dinner, given by the Botanical Society of America, December 31, 1919, in St. Louis, Mo., William Trelease, LL.D., retiring president of the Society, delivered an address entitled: "Botanical Achievement," (*Science,* February 6, 1920).

Mrs. George Montgomery Tuttle, chairman, Executive Committee, American Friends of Musicians in France, reports that in 1919 the French Government conferred upon her the "Médaille de la Reconnaissance Française," for services rendered to the French musicians during the past two years. Mrs. Tuttle also states that $52,000 has been sent to France for destitute musicians. The Music School of Rheims has been reopened and thousands of individuals have received aid. Each case thus benefited is recorded in writing by Mrs. Tuttle.

T. Wayland Vaughan, Ph.D., states that during April, 1919, he initiated a geological survey of the Dominican Republic for the Military Government of that republic. The survey is being conducted under the direction of the U. S. Geological Survey but most of the expense of the undertaking is being carried by the Dominican Government. During May and June, 1919, Dr. Vaughan made a geological reconnaissance of the Virgin Islands of the United States and eastern Porto Rico. A volume giving the results of the work in the Dominican Republic, in which he was assisted by

several other geologists, has been published. Besides this work, Dr. Vaughan continued his studies of the geology of the eastern and southern parts of the United States, the West Indies, and Central America. He has also been appointed chairman of the Committee on Sedimentation of the Division of Geology and Geography of the National Research Council.

George B. Vosburgh, D.D., of the University of Denver, who, in 1919, visited the British Isles, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy and Spain, writes of his impressions after a summer and autumn in Europe "in research work along economic and industrial lines, with special emphasis upon the labor situation. It was three months of most intensive study of problems which seemed to me compelling and which are bound to be the outstanding issues before the world for years to come. I found not only unrest but unreasonable unrest aiming at no rational goal. There was an absence of clear thinking, mental poise and definite purpose. But there were an elect few, however, who understood the situation and although no one could be expected under the circumstances to have thought the problems through to the finish, yet they at least saw the direction in which to move. These 'prophets,' backed by the hard common sense of a large percentage of the common people, will, I believe, save the situation. It may be a long and difficult road, and the burden imposed upon the strong may be a heavy one, but the finality will be a new and better Europe.

"The United States is in the game of the world as never before. We cannot hope to solve successfully our own problems without an intelligent understanding of the conditions and problems confronting the nations of the world. If we are to avert disaster and fulfill our destiny, our knowledge of world-wide conditions must become increasingly intimate."

After his return to this country, Dr. Vosburgh delivered an address on November 21, 1919, before the citizens of Denver, entitled: "Europe's After-War Industrial Lessons in America."

In May, 1919, Lillian D. Wald, LL.D., was sent as representative of the Federal Children's Bureau to the International Conference at Cannes, France.

Miss Wald also served in October as delegate to the First Industrial Conference at Washington, D. C., and during the recent epidemic, as chairman of the Nurses' Emergency Council.

Mr. S. Davies Warfield in May, 1917, organized the National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities for the purpose of protecting the credit and stabilizing the securities of the railroads. This organization spread throughout the country and its membership represented the ownership of over $10,000,000,000 of the $17,000,000,000 outstanding railroad securities (bonds and stocks). This membership included the great life insurance companies, fire insurance, casualty and surety companies, mutual savings banks, state and national banks and trust companies, trustees of estates and of endowments of colleges and universities and a great number of individual investors. The initial step in Mr. Warfield's undertaking was to make manifest the universal character of the ownership of railroad securities and this developed the fact that there were some 35,000,000 policy holders of life insurances companies, some 10,000,000 of depositors in mutual savings banks, besides the other large groups of investors, all of whom had a direct ownership in the railroad investments of the respective institutions in which they had a mutual interest.

When Congress took up the railroad problem this Association through Mr. Warfield, its president, presented a plan for the return and regulation of the railroads. This plan had the support of national bodies of shippers and farmers and there was presented to Congress accompanying it a Memorial endorsing the plan with the signatures of over 25,000 institutions and individuals representing over 80 per cent of the resources of the country available for investment in railroad securities.

E. W. Watkins, executive secretary of the Boys' Conservation Bureau, reports that in 1919, one hundred and

twenty-two boys received practical and substantial help from the Bureau. After financing their support, most of these boys were sent to Boys' Home Industrial Farm Schools, others were placed in private homes and a small number simply needed employment and a suitable home in which to live. Two of the older boys who left the Industrial Farm Schools are now preparing for the competitive examination for admittance to Annapolis. One boy, severely wounded in France in the Battle of Château-Thierry, is now taking an Agricultural Course at Cornell at the expense of the Government.

Mr. Watkins is more than pleased by the number of boys who return to New York for further education, attending the evening schools and working at trades or in banks and offices during the day.

After twenty-five years of service, Clinton Rogers Woodruff has retired from the secretaryship of the National Municipal League. He was elected honorary secretary. In recognition of his services to the League, the following was presented to Mr. Woodruff:

"As every institution is but the lengthened shadow of a man, so the *National Municipal League* hereby gratefully acknowledges that it is but another name for Clinton Rogers Woodruff, who has been for twenty-five years its devoted Secretary, its organizing genius, its motive force, its guiding spirit.

"He found the *National Municipal League* a mere project; he leaves it the central force of American civics. He found municipal reform a feeble aspiration; he leaves it the foremost achievement of modern democracy.

"In grateful testimony whereof, this token is presented by the *National Municipal League* at its Annual Meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, December 29, 1919."

In July, 1919, Governor Sproul appointed Mr. Woodruff to his former place on the Registration Board. He was also unanimously elected a member of the Civil Service Commission and subsequently made president of that body, by the new City Council under the new charter for Philadelphia.

AMERICA'S GIFT TO FRANCE
HISTORY OF MARNE MEMORIAL MOVEMENT

The heroic statue now being designed by Frederick MacMonnies, which will be "America's Gift to France," will be placed in a position overlooking the Marne River near the village of Meaux, where the first German advance on Paris was stopped on September 6, 1914, less than thirty miles from Paris.

The idea of a memorial gift from America, to commemorate this victory of Joffre's poilus over the enemies of civilization, originated with a group of Americans who have formed a National Committee, with Thomas W. Lamont as chairman and Myron T. Herrick, former ambassador to France, as chairman of the executive committee.

Like the Statue of Liberty, the Marne memorial will be of colossal size. According to the present plans of the sculptor, it will represent the Spirit of Liberty as a woman, struggling with undaunted courage against her enemies. This central figure will be reënforced by others representing, probably, the Allies of France, the whole group taking the form of a pyramid, which to Mr. MacMonnies, signifies defensive strength.

The Statue of Liberty was paid for by popular subscriptions, in small amounts, which poured in from every corner of France, a striking illustration of the regard in which the United States was held by the sister republic. "America's Gift to France" will cost $250,000, about the same as the cost of the Statue of Liberty, and it will be paid for in the same way as France paid for her gift to this nation. Feeling that it would be more expressive of the spirit of the gift to have small contributions from all the people than large donations from a few, the National Committee for "America's Gift to France" designated the week of March 22 for taking a national voluntary collection, to which everybody had an opportunity to contribute.

The sponsors of "America's Gift to France" desire to make it at once a memorial to the defenders of civilization who fought at the Marne, a reciprocal gift in return for the Statue of Liberty, and a lasting expression of that feeling of kinship in democracy which unites the two great republics.

The following resolutions, submitted by the Honorable Myron T. Herrick, a vice-president of the National Institute of Social Sciences, were adopted:

"We, the Undersigned, Members of the Executive Committee of the National Institute of Social Sciences, in meeting assembled, desire to place on record the following set of resolutions, adopted this tenth day of March, 1920.

"Whereas: Resolutions having been proposed and seconded that this body endorses the national movement to erect a colossal statue on the banks of the River Marne in northern France to commemorate the valiant stand made by the French armies in 1914.

"Therefore, Be it Resolved: That we heartily endorse 'America's Gift to France' and will further the project insofar as the Constitution and By-Laws permit."

Signed: EMORY R. JOHNSON,
President.

Samuel L. Parrish
George Hamlin
Madison Grant
Bradley A. Fiske
James B. Townsend
Helen Hartley Jenkins
Executive Committee

IN MEMORIAM

It is with keenest sorrow that we record the death, on May 14, 1920, of H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D.

Dr. Curtis was the founder of the National Institute of Social Sciences, as he was of many other organizations, notably the American Laryngological and Rhinological Society. In the old days of the American Social Science Association, it was he who, in conversation with Judge Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, first suggested the idea of the Institute of Arts and Letters, from which the Academy of Arts and Letters has developed with its independent charter. The Liberty Service Medal and the Patriotic Service Medal were originated by him.

The doing of all this was inevitable to a man, loving his country and humanity as he did and endowed as he was with a gift of seeing where new and helpful possibilities might be cultivated. His health had begun to fail him, and he strove against many odds in organizing and conducting the National Institute, but he never gave up, never lost his vision of what the end should be: the betterment and encouragement of mankind, and a generous whole-hearted recognition of other men's unselfish efforts in its behalf. He had no petty professional jealousies.

His knowledge of music and the arts brought him into contact with many brilliant minds outside the medical profession, while his scientific attainments made him an authority among his peers both here and in France and England. His was a many sided richly endowed nature, but now that he has gone, shining above all his endowments of mind, were those of a heart that never failed a friend in need, nor in a ready response to the cry of suffering. And with it all he possessed that rare and fine quality of humility, with which only great natures are endowed. No one ever heard him boast of what he had done or what he had given, though his benefactions and accomplishments were many.

These gifts of mind and heart, then, Dr. Curtis consecrated in full measure to the founding and sustaining of the National Institute, and it is these gifts which the Institute aims to perpetuate as it grows and develops into that vital factor of our national progress which he strove to make it.

LILLIE HAMILTON FRENCH.

CONSTITUTION

AND

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

FOUNDED IN 1912 UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED BY ACT OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 28, 1899

CONSTITUTION

I. ORIGIN AND NAME

This National Society, organized by the American Social Science Association, under a charter granted by Act of Congress January 28th, 1899, shall be known as THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES.

II. OBJECT

The object of this National Institute shall be to promote the study of Social Science and to reward distinguished services rendered to humanity, either by election to the National Institute, or by the bestowal of medals or other insignia.

III. MEMBERSHIP

Qualification for membership shall be notable achievement in the field of Social Science or services performed for the benefit of mankind.

IV. ELECTIONS

1. Nominations for election shall be made to the Council, and election may be either by a two-thirds vote of those present at a meeting of the Council; by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a regular or special meeting of the Institute, or by such other procedure as the Institute may prescribe.

2. Ten citizens in good standing, of any town or city in the United States may, as a reward for special services rendered by an individual, nominate him as a candidate for election or recognition. They must forward to the Council of the National Institute through the Secretary, a detailed account of the candidate's qualifications and the nature of the service rendered.

3. Honorary members may be elected in the same manner as members under Art. I. They may wear the ribbon of the N. I. S. S., receive medals, or both, as the Council may decide.

4. Officers and Directors of the American Social Science Association shall be *ipso facto* members of the National Institute.

V. OFFICERS

1. The Officers of the National Institute shall consist of a President, as many Vice-Presidents as the Council may from time to time nominate, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who together shall constitute the Council of the Institute.

VI. ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. Officers shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting.

2. A nominating committee of ten shall be nominated by the President previous to the election.

3. The Council may fill a vacancy at any time by a two-thirds vote.

VII. ANNUAL MEETING

1. The annual meeting of the Institute shall be held the third Friday in January unless otherwise ordered by the Council.
2. Special meetings may be called by the President, by three members of the Council, or by petition of one-fourth of the members of the Institute.

VIII. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

1. It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, the senior Vice-President, to preside at all meetings of the Institute or Council.
2. The Secretary shall keep a minute of all meetings of the Institute and of the Council, and shall be the custodian of all records.
3. The Treasurer shall take charge of all the funds of the Institute and shall make disbursements only upon the order of the Council.

IX. ANNUAL DUES

1. The annual dues for members shall be Five Dollars.
2. Honorary members shall pay One Dollar annually, and shall receive four ribbons of the Institute.
3. The Council may at its discretion reduce the dues of any member.
4. By payment of One Hundred Dollars a member may become a life member of the Institute.

X. EXPULSION

Any member may be expelled for misconduct by a two-thirds vote of the Council.

XI. INSIGNIA AND MEDALS

1. The insignia of the NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES shall be a bow of royal purple ribbon with a white bar woven at the extremity of the loops, or a metal and enamel pin of similar design.
2. Badge of membership will bear an eagle surrounded by a wreath of oak and laurel, with the name of the Institute, stellar rays making a background for the device.
3. Presentation medals shall bear the Figure of Fame resting on a Shield, holding wreaths of laurel. The shield to bear the name of the Institute. In the left hand, the figure to hold a palm branch. The reverse to show a torch with a name plate and *Dignus Honore*, the motto of the Institute.

XII. AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended, by a two-thirds vote of the Institute, upon the recommendation of the Council, or upon the request, in writing, of any five members. The Secretary shall be required to send to each member a copy of the proposed amendment, at least three weeks before the meeting at which the proposed amendment is to be considered.

LIST OF MEMBERS

LIFE MEMBERS

Barnes, Julius H.
Blackmore, Henry S.
Bliss, Mrs. William H.
Blumenthal, George
Bourn, William B.
Carnegie, Mrs. Andrew
Caruso, Sig. Enrico
Clarke, Lewis L.,
Clothier, LL.D., Morris L.
Cutting, LL.D., Robert Fulton
Dimock, Mrs. Henry F.
Ellsworth, LL.D., James W.
Fitz-Simon, Mrs. Paul
Gammell, William
Harriman, Mrs. E. H.
Harvey, George
Huntington, Litt.D., Archer M.
Kingsbury, Miss Alice E.
McEldowney, H. C.
Mather, Samuel
Mellon, Andrew W.
Mitchell, Edward P.
Morgan, Miss Anne
Parker, Prof. Herschel C.
Parrish, Samuel L.
Rea, Mrs. Henry R.
Salomon, Mrs. William
Sloan, Mrs. B. B.
Spence, Miss Clara B.
Stetson, LL.D., Francis Lynde
Stewart, Lispenard
Straight, Mrs. Willard D.
Strater, Charles G.
Synnott, Thomas W.
Vogel, Jr., Frederic
Warburg, Felix M.
Warren, Mrs. Whitney

ANNUAL MEMBERS, 1920

Abbott, M.D., Edville G.
17 Storer St., Portland, Me.
Abbott, L.H.D., Lyman,
381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.
Adams, Cyrus C.
Jewett, Greene Co., N. Y.
Adams, Ph.D., Ephraim Douglass
Stanford University, Cal.
Adams, Franklin P.
Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.
Adams, Mrs. Harriet Chalmers
The Marlborough, Washington, D. C.
Adler, Ph.D., Cyrus
2041 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Agar, Hon. John G.
31 Nassau St., N. Y. City.
Aishton, Richard H.
226 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Akeley, Carl E.
1 West 89th St., N. Y. City.
Alderman, Pres. Edwin A.
University, Va.
Aldrich, Miss Lucy T.
Warwick, R. I.
Aldrich, Winthrop W.
16 East 55th St., N. Y. City.
Alexander, Hon. Joshua W.
1110 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.
Alger, George W.
27 William St., N. Y. City.
Allen, Hon. Henry Justin
Topeka, Kan.
Allen, Robert McD.
Arlington Ave. & 277th St., N. Y. City.
Ames, Charles W.
501 Grand St., St. Paul, Minn.
Ames, Prof. Oakes
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